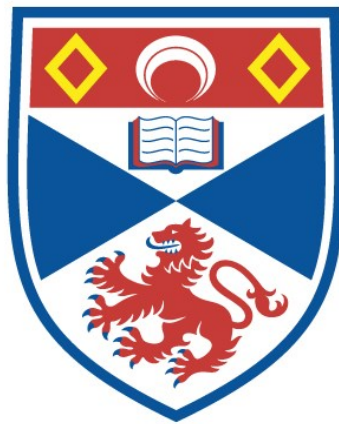


**ASPECTS OF THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF
SLANG IN THE SPANISH OF BARRANQUILLA,
COLOMBIA**

Margaret Gillian Moss

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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OF BARRANQUILLA, COLOMBIA.

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MARGARET GILLIAN MOSS



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I declare that this thesis has been composed by me on the basis of work done by me in St. Andrews and Colombia, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted under General Ordinance no. 12 in October 1975.

Candidate

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations relating to the Degree of Ph.D. have been fulfilled.

Aspects of the production and use of slang in the Spanish of Barranquilla, Colombia.

by Margaret Gillian Moss

Thesis abstract

The thesis presents a general analysis of the semantic processes involved in the production of slang in Barranquilla and of its use, particularly in relation to popular culture, socio-economic class and education. The relationship between slang and other areas of language is studied and the corpus presents 282 words and phrases accompanied by a detailed analysis of each item.

Slang is a part of the vernacular, which is the most systematic area of language (cf. Labov [redacted]) and due to its rapidly-changing nature, processes of semantic change which occur throughout the language can be seen in action in slang (cf. Benezet Neyra, Guarnieri, Hildebrandt, Jespersen, Niceforo, Trejo, etc.). The most important mechanism of slang production (66%) is found to be metaphor, which is analyzed in detail as a dynamic process, and it is suggested that literal language and metaphor are two extremes of the same continuous process.

Within metaphor, function is seen to be the most frequent motivation (64%), the expression of relations, activities and abstract concepts in concrete terms being one of the major uses of slang. Examination of this phenomenon shows the deficit theory (cf. Bernstein [redacted] and, for general resumé, Dittmar) to be probably unjustified. Notwithstanding, a relationship between slang, socio-economic class and education is established in that working class people, with least formal education, are found to be the greatest producers and users of slang.

As specifically vernacular lexicon, slang is an expression of the vernacular culture and its value systems. Relations between slang and culture are analyzed on the level of individual items in the corpus and also in a more general and abstract sense in the way in which slang is seen to fulfill in urban society some of the functions of myth (cf. Lévi-Strauss, Rosaldo). At the other end of the linguistic scale, comparison and contrast are also drawn between slang and poetry.

Throughout the first nine chapters, detailed and numerical evidence is drawn from the

corpus. The corpus itself presents the meaning of each item, an example of its use, cross-references to many dictionaries in order to provide comparison with the standard and with other regional and non-standard varieties of Spanish, and analysis of the semantic process involved, its motivation, its effects, the reference of tenor and vehicle where applicable and the social distribution of the item.

The appendix provides brief discussion of the influence of the mass media.

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

1.1. Slang as an object of study

1.1.1. Definition

The word slang has been used to describe many different forms of language, from very narrowly restricted trade and professional jargons to any form of language usage which differs from the standard. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary gives three definitions, the third of which runs thus:-

'Language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense'

and this is more or less the definition which I shall take; that is to say lexical usage (either words or phrases) which differs from the standard but which is of fairly generalized use and comprehension, not restricted to any small trade, professional or criminal group. Usage originally created by and specific to such groups may become slang when used in a wider context and by a more generalized sector of society. For instance, a number of entries in the corpus are described as cant, by which I mean that they were originally specific to the underworld but are now in more general circulation (e.g. bacón (q.v.), bobo (q.v.)).

Colloquial speech too, of course, frequently differs from the standard and here the scale of lexicalization and socialization to be established in section 3.2.5. is helpful. Slang, as I define it, is less lexicalized and socialized than colloquial usage: it draws more attention within the utterance, and is acceptable in a narrower range-of-social situations. For example, in writing, colloquial forms, while unacceptable in formal

or technical styles, may be quite acceptable in more informal styles such as autobiographical writings and journalism; slang is rarely written and when it is, is accompanied by inverted commas. In speech, colloquial forms would be out of place in such situations as addressing a conference or being interviewed for a job but quite acceptable when addressing a class or having tea with a respectable old lady whom one has only just met; in neither of the latter situations would slang generally be considered acceptable: it is for use among friends or occasionally with new acquaintances whose reaction may for some reason (common interests, background, etc.) be predicted (cf. section 7.6. on the function of slang in group identification). Thus, for example, in Barranquilla, chava (q.v.) in the sense 'false teeth' is colloquial, and in the sense 'face' is slang. Coseriu's ⁽¹⁾ tripartite distinction of sistema, norma and habla may be helpful here. Under this definition, colloquial language would be included in norma, whereas slang would be a part of habla which does not conform to the norma.

1.1.2. Slang as part of the vernacular

Slang, then, is used only in very casual speech and when the speaker feels sure of his/her audience. It is not, however, as it has often been considered, a picturesque oddity outside the language system proper. As we shall see in Chapter 3, it is rooted in the system and affects changes within the system. Moreover, if one compares the amount of time a person spends addressing conferences and having tea with ladies of recent acquaintance, with the amount of time s/he spends talking to family, friends and work-mates, it is clear that for the majority of people by far the greater part of their speech may and frequently does include slang.

(1) 11-113

Slang, then, is an integral part of the vernacular; in fact one of the defining features thereof ⁽²⁾. In recent years, many linguists have turned to the vernacular as offering an opportunity for studying the habits of the community rather than individual idiosyncracies, and as being the most natural and therefore most systematic area of language. Thus, for example, Labov writes:

'In other styles, we find more systematic speech, where the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution can be seen most clearly. This is the "vernacular" -- the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech. Observation of the vernacular gives us the most systematic data for our analysis of linguistic structure.' ⁽³⁾

With this in mind it seems extraordinary that the same author should write of "that outer, extra-linguistic darkness where we have cast speculation on the origin of language and articles about slang." ⁽⁴⁾

Slang, though, however much linguists may wish it were extra-linguistic, is a vital part of the system, and any valid linguistic theory must needs be able to cope with it ⁽⁵⁾. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that while the vernacular is the most productive area for the study of phonological and grammatical structures, the same is not true in the case of lexical and semantic structures. On the contrary, when one turns to the study not merely of the surface form of individual items of slang, but of the semantic processes at work in their formation and of the general tendencies which emerge from study of a large body of slang material, it becomes clear that here too, study of the vernacular may provide vital insight into the working of the system as a whole.

(2) cf. Joos: 23

(3) (1978h: 208)

(4) (1972: 97)

(5) cf. Chomsky (1976: 28, fn.22)

1.1.3. Semantic change

Slang provides a unique opportunity for the study of semantic change in action. The ephemeral nature of slang which has often been cited as an obstacle to study, is in fact a great advantage. There is no reason to believe that the basic mechanisms of change at work in slang are any different from those at work in standard language and comparison of the processes visible in the corpus material and those described by historical semanticists ⁽⁶⁾ suggests that they are very similar. The one vital difference, however, is the time-scale; processes which in standard language can only be hypothetically reconstructed, happen so quickly in slang that they may be observed actually taking place, just as, in a speeded-up film of a flower opening, a process which was previously only assumed suddenly becomes visible.

Thus the study of semantic change at work in slang can provide enlightenment on similar processes in all areas of language and also on the description of such traditionally problematic areas as metaphor and other poetic usage, which also work on the same principles. Thus standard language, slang and poetry need not be treated as totally separate entities but may be viewed as different stages or degrees of one and the same continuing process.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 below, investigate in detail these semantic processes and the relationship between slang and standard language, while Chapter 8 considers the relationship between slang and poetic usage.

(6) e.g. Guiraud (1960), Ullmann

1.1.4. Relationship with other aspects of culture

Slang, as mentioned above, though not confined to very small groups, is more socially restricted than standard language. Being an integral part of the vernacular, and that part of the lexicon which is specific to the vernacular, it serves as an expression of the vernacular culture and is deeply embedded in the culture and value systems of the people who use it. Slang is collective semantic creativity as opposed to the individual creativity of poetry, and as such it relies heavily on collective attitudes and values for its efficacy. It thus provides an excellent area for study of the ways in which a semantic system and other aspects of culture are interdependent. This may be studied in detail in the kinds of relationship established in each item of slang vocabulary, and also in a more general and abstract sense in the way in which slang fulfills in urban society some of the functions of myth. The former aspect is discussed in Chapter 5 and the latter in Chapter 6.

1.1.5. Sociolinguistic value

Another consequence of the social restriction of slang is that it may provide interesting information for studies of sociolinguistic stratification and variation. Slang usage varies as between one group and another and more especially as between one socioeconomic class and another. Slang therefore serves a function of group identification, both in that it provides information about the speaker and in that its use may serve as a statement of membership of a group or class and allegiance to the values thereof. Slang is also used as an element in stylistic variation, being only used in more informal contexts. Moreover, the use of slang is related to education in that it is those sectors

of society with least formal education which are the greatest creators and users of slang. Slang as it exemplifies lower class semantic creativity offers an excellent opportunity for investigation of some of the claims of proponents of the deficit theory, claims which we shall find to be highly questionable. Chapter 4 investigates aspects of the deficit theory, Chapter 7 discusses the various functions of slang within the speech community and Chapter 9 concerns the relationship between slang, socio-economic class and education.

1.2. Barranquilla slang within the Spanish language

It is hoped that detailed studies of slang in many languages will reveal universal tendencies in the above-mentioned features. The present study refers, of course, especially to processes of semantic change in Spanish and the relationship between the Spanish language and the cultural and social setting of Barranquilla, an industrial port, population about 800,000, situated at the mouth of the R. Magdalena on the Caribbean coast of Colombia. The corpus provides a detailed record of how these slang processes function in one variety of Spanish, and also places this information within the framework of the Spanish language as a whole through references to standard usage and non-standard usage of other areas.

1.2.1. The geographical factor

I have chosen to deal with the slang usage of one city only, since it provides a unified body of material which may be analyzed according to the same criteria. Barranquilla is a unified speech community

(in Labov's (7) sense of a group of speakers who share the same set of norms with regard to language) but shows definite differences even from the neighbouring cities of Cartagena and Santa Marta, and considerable differences from speech communities of cities in the interior of the country such as Bogotá, Medellín and Cali (8). A collection of material from more than one of these cities would not be the creation of a single speech community and might show inconsistencies. It is to be hoped that such generalization will in fact be possible, but individual studies must be carried out before such a step may be taken.

The dictionary references given in each corpus entry are intended to provide comparison with the standard (DRAE, Alonso, Santamaría) and with other regional and non-standard varieties of Spanish, on the level of each individual expression. It will be noted that those expressions used in the same sense in other areas are in fact very few, and tend in the main to be those expressions which originated as cant. These latter are, of course, a special case in that criminal communities have a vested interest in being able to understand each other in different regions and different countries. It seems on the whole, then, that these slang expressions are not geographically widespread (even allowing for the fact that various dictionaries may well not have been compiled according to exactly the same criteria as each other or as the present corpus), and that generalities must therefore be sought not

(7) (1978f: 158)

(8) e.g. vaina (q.v.), is perfectly acceptable in Barranquilla but slightly vulgar in the interior; vorraco (q.v.) is slightly vulgar in Barranquilla and extremely so in the interior; tú is acceptable in a much wider range of situations in Barranquilla than in the interior, etc.

at the level of individual items but of higher level processes.

1.2.1. The time factor

Again, the corpus is a record of the state of Barranquilla slang at one particular period, namely the second half of 1976 and the first half of 1977. A few changes could be noted during that time e.g. the introduction of ¡chanfle! (q.v.) and other expressions taken from the television programme El chapulín colorado ⁽⁹⁾, an increase in the popularity of some words, e.g. nota (q.v.) and viaje (q.v.), and a decrease in that of others, e.g. ¡boquío! (q.v.). However, in general, little change was apparent during that time.

Some notion as to the age of the expressions presented in the corpus may be gained from the comparison with those cited by Sundheim who studied the speech patterns of the same area 55 years previously. Again, it will be seen that the number of current expressions which were already used at that time is very small. It is unfortunate that no intermediate document exists which might give a more precise idea as to the time of coinage of these expressions. It is to be hoped that future studies will follow their development, and thereby provide vital documentary information on the life-history of slang expressions.

1.2.3. Hispanic dialectology and sociolinguistics

Hispanic dialectology has in the main concentrated on the collection and

(9) cf. Appendix

presentation of data, making wide use of questionnaire techniques and taking little interest in theoretical analysis (10). While I would not question the importance of the data presented by dialectologists, I would suggest that there are certain serious limitations involved in the method. The type of information collected tends to be severely limited by the design of the questionnaire; for instance, the lexical section of the questionnaire used for the linguistic atlas of Colombia (11) concentrates entirely on names of objects, with no investigation of the expression of relations, activities or abstract concepts, areas which as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4 form the core of Barranquilla slang. Further, such studies frequently record the speech of only one or two individuals in each place visited, thereby laying themselves open to misrepresentation of the data through individual variation - it seems doubtful whether homogeneity may be safely assumed even in very small speech communities. Again, such data-orientated studies tend to remain on a fairly superficial level of analysis giving little insight into higher level structures and processes. Montes Giraldo suggests that this is an inevitable consequence of the nature of the data:

'Por ello parece también razonable decir que la dialectología representa un grado inferior de abstracción, por cuanto además de la ligazón del fenómeno con el lugar y el momento en que se produce sorprende también el proceso lingüístico en su fuente individual, en el habla viva y actuante en el acto concreto de comunicación.' (12)

With one or two notable exceptions (13), Hispanic dialectologists have followed this line and taken little interest in the developments of sociolinguistics. I would suggest, however, that it is precisely because dialectology succeeds in 'catching language in the act' that it may

(10) cf. Malkiel (1975:2,6), Weinreich (1966b: 3)

(11) cf. Flórez (1964: 25ff.)

(12) (1970: 38-39)

(13) e.g. Elizaincin, Fontanella de Weinberg, Rona. Cf. also Malkiel (1966)

successfully be combined with the methods of sociolinguistics. The latter can achieve no meaningful analysis unless it is firmly based on a corpus of first-hand "live" linguistic data, while dialectology by taking no account of social as opposed to geographical stratification and variation, and making no attempt to abstract general rules and tendencies from its data, does not seem to offer any profound insight into the workings of the Spanish language.

I suggest that it is not only possible but also extremely fruitful to work towards a combination of the techniques of these two disciplines (14); a liaison which may prove most beneficial to both.

1.3. Method

1.3.1. Informants and anonymous informants

One of the constant difficulties in the study of the vernacular is the observation of casual speech in which the influence of the observer is not felt (15). One of the methods of solving this problem is through the use of rapid anonymous interviews and unsystematic observation (16). In the former, the interviewer engages the subject in some brief everyday piece of conversation, e.g. asking the way, with no explicit reference at all made to language and no identification of the interviewer as such.

(14) cf. Malkiel (1975: 10)

(15) cf. Labov (1964: 167; 1978c: 85-86; 1978h: 209; etc.)

(16) Labov (1978h: 210-211)

Labov sees this as the most important method for the study of the vernacular ⁽¹⁷⁾ and it is particularly well suited to lexical studies since the lack of mechanical recording is not a serious disadvantage in this field, and slightly longer snatches of conversation may be engaged in before memory becomes unreliable. Unsystematic observation involves the observation of speech overheard in all kinds of public places, e.g. on the bus, in shops, cafés, bars, cinemas, at the university, on the street, in the market, etc. In the list of corpus sources (cf. section 10.3. below) I have classified speakers observed by both these methods as "anonymous informants".

One of the disadvantages of the above methods is that they do not provide precise information as to the age, class, occupation, etc. of the informant. It is therefore necessary to make use of more traditional individual informant interviews as well, where these factors can be clearly controlled, although interviewer influence is strong. Both informants and anonymous informants have therefore been used so that the bias involved in each method may be counterbalanced by that of the other; again I cite Labov:

'when we approach from two different directions and get the same result, we can feel confident that we have reached past the Observer's Paradox to the structure that exists independently of the analyst.' (18)

It will be noted that I have made greater use of anonymous informants for the lower class than for the middle class. This is due to the fact that I formed a part of the middle class community and therefore had

(17) (1978b: 69)

(18) *ibid*: 61-62

frequent opportunities for the observation in informal situations of middle class speakers about whom I had detailed information. The use of anonymous informants was therefore less necessary in the case of the middle class, although they were still used for the purposes of confirmation.

1.2.3. Criteria for inclusion

Expressions are included in the corpus if they were heard on numerous occasions and from several different informants and/or anonymous informants. No expressions which were heard only once or twice were included, in order to avoid the danger of including individual idiosyncracies.

The other criterion for inclusion was that the word or phrase fulfill the definition of slang given in section 1.1.1. above. Thus the fact that an expression does not appear in the dictionaries is not sufficient in itself: it must also evoke the slang 'feeling' which makes it usable only in the most casual contexts. This avoids the inclusion of those expressions which are regionalisms or traditional idioms but not slang. These criteria are, of course, necessarily somewhat subjective, but the high degree of agreement between informants seems to suggest that they are valid, and a more objective method of selection must await the development of techniques for the quantitative analysis of extralinguistic variables, which at present must be assessed by the researcher.

1.3.3. Socioeconomic class

Informants were categorized as lower class or middle class on the basis of income, education and occupation; anonymous informants on the basis of occupation, dress and context. I have distinguished only two socioeconomic classes since the low frequency of occurrence of each item makes finer distinctions impractical, and also to make the classification of anonymous informants as reliable as possible. These points, and also the categorization of corpus entries as lower class or middle class, are discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 2 : MECHANISMS OF SLANG PRODUCTION

2.1. Relationship between slang word and slang context

If we examine the mechanisms at work in the production of slang vocabulary, we shall find that these fall into two main types: those which consist in the use of a word or phrase, already established within the language, in a new or unusual context, and those which introduce a previously unknown word into the vocabulary of the language. Looking in more detail at the first type, we find that the relationship which exists between the word or phrase and its new context ⁽¹⁾ and which provides the grounds for its use therein, may be of several different types. These may be usefully be divided into four broad classes:

- (1) relationship between the usual reference ⁽²⁾ of the word or phrase and its reference in the new context
- (2) relationship between the usual sense of the word or phrase and its sense in the new context
- (3) usual syntagmatic relationship between the word or phrase or a part thereof and a word or words forming part of the new context
- (4) relationship between the phonetic shape of the word or phrase and either that of the new context or part thereof, or that of the word or phrase which would normally be expected to occur in the new context.

- (1) context is used here to refer to linguistic context i.e. the utterance in which the word or phrase occurs.
- (2) I use the word usual to contrast with slang, reserving literal for contrast more specifically with metaphorical, (for comment on usual and literal vs. proper, cf. section 3.1. fn. (2) below). For the distinction between sense and reference to be followed here cf. Ricoeur: 217.

2.1.1. Reference relationships or metaphor

These may be based on similarity (either functional, emotive or perceptive), contiguity (physical or conceptual), or inclusion (physical or conceptual), and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter (3).

2.1.2. Sense relations

These may be either restriction of meaning, extension of meaning (4), or loss of meaning (pause-filler).

Restriction of meaning includes those cases in which the sense of the word or phrase in its new context is not distinct from its sense in its usual context but forms only a part thereof. That is to say that the word or phrase in its usual context would require further qualification in order to be understood in the way in which it is understood in its new context (5).

e.g. bajar (q.v.) would, in usual context, require qualification in order to be understood in the specific sense of 'lowering through the use of physical violence', which is automatically understood in slang context; monte (q.v.) would need further qualification to be understood in the specific sense 'marihuana', etc.

- (3) The use of the term metaphor to include relations of metonymy and synecdoche will also be discussed in the next chapter.
- (4) Ullmann : 204, refers to similar processes on a historical plane as narrowing and widening, the major difference being that in the present case slang and usual senses exist simultaneously and must be distinguished by context, while Ullmann describes a process in which the original sense is lost and replaced by the new sense. Cf. also Newman : 399.
- (5) Some writers, e.g. the Liège group, cf. Ricoeur : 163, would classify this process as synecdoche. In order to avoid confusion between referential inclusion and sense inclusion, I reserve the term synecdoche for the former.

Extension of meaning includes those cases in which the sense of the word or phrase in slang context is more general than its sense in usual context and includes the latter but would require qualification in order to be understood in that sense.

e.g. charba (q.v.) in slang context is understood in the generalized sense 'work' and would require further qualification in order to be understood in the specific sense 'ditch-digging'; sabroso (q.v.) in slang context would need qualification in order to be understood in the sense 'of pleasing taste', etc.

Pause-fillers ⁽⁶⁾ are those words or phrases which through continual use in a wide variety of contexts lose their cognitive meaning and become sense-less, being used merely to avoid gaps or silences.

e.g. janalize! (q.v.) which in slang context has lost its sense 'analyze' ⁽⁷⁾.

2.1.3. Syntagmatic relations

These may be either between the word or phrase and a part of its new context or, in the case of formulae, between the parts thereof.

(6) In the use of this term I follow Mitchell-Kernan : 311.

(7) These three types of sense relations could be described in terms of semic analysis (cf. Liège group, v. Ricoeur : 163) or in terms of semantic features (cf. Katz and Fodor, Weinreich (1966a), Levin (1977)). However, as my central interest here is not the internal semantic make-up of the word itself but the interaction between the focus, or slang word or phrase, and its frame, or slang context (for focus/frame terminology, cf. Black), I do not consider such formalization to be helpful at this stage. It will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Syntagmatic metaphors include those cases in which a word is used in slang context (without relationship of reference, sense or phonetic shape) because, in usual contexts, it frequently occurs in syntagmatic relationships with a word or words forming part of the slang context or with the word which would normally be expected in that context.

e.g. montarse en el palo (v. palo, montarse en el) is used in the sense 'to drink at someone else's expense' because of the frequent occurrence, in usual contexts, of montarse with palo, which in its turn is used in the metaphorical sense 'a drink' and in the phrase dar palo (v. palo, dar) meaning 'not to pay the bill in a bar'; ned (q.v.) is used in the sense 'anus' because of its frequent occurrence, in usual contexts, in conjunction with chiquito (q.v.) which in its turn is used in the sense 'anus', etc.

Formulae (8) are those phrases in which syntagmatic relations existing between the parts of the phrase cause the use of the phrase in slang context where a part thereof would be sufficient, or in which no one word is in focus, but rather the frequent repetition of the phrase as a whole occasions its use in a slang context.

e.g. ¿tú sabes y vaina (q.v.) in which the first part, i.e. ¿tú sabes, would be a sufficient pause-filler but y vaina is added through force of habit; estar en nada (en todo)(q.v.) in which none of the words is used in an unusual sense, but rather their frequent co-occurrence in this precise combination has led to slang usage, etc.

2.1.4. Phonetic relations

These may be between the word or phrase and the slang context or between the word or phrase in question and the word or phrase which would be usual in the slang context of the former.

Assonantal association includes those cases in which there is a similarity between the phonetic shape of the word or phrase and either that of a word or words in the slang context or that of the word which would normally be expected to occur in that context, e.g. bacón como el alacrán (q.v.) in which the use of alacrán is due entirely to assonantal association with bacón (q.v.); miércoles (q.v.) which is used as a euphemism for mierda because of its assonantal association with the latter.

Antonomastic use of proper names in similar circumstances is also a fairly frequent device (in the corpus, 7 out of 10 classified as assonantal association involve antonomasia), (9)

e.g. legal como Pascual (q.v.) in which the use of Pascual is due to assonantal association with legal (q.v.); Roberto (q.v.) which is used in the sense 'robbery' because of assonantal association with robo.

Backslang (10) involves the reversal of the syllable order of the word which would normally be expected to occur in the slang context. e.g. misaca (q.v.) based on camisa, etc.

(9) Cf. Reinhauer : 148; Hildebrandt : 247; Jespersen : 163; Trejo : xxvii, etc.

(10) For further references to backslang as an oft used form of slang creation, particularly for secretive purposes, cf. Bendeñeyra : 40; Guarnieri : 16; Niceforo : 107; Sechrist : 426; Wagner : 183, etc.

Abbreviation ⁽¹¹⁾ involves the use of only one part of a word or phrase which would normally be expected to occur in its entirety in the slang context.

e.g. mano (q.v.) used where hermano would be expected; chiquito (q.v.) used where hueco chiquito would be expected.

2.1.5. Introduction of new vocabulary

This may take the form of new creations or neologisms ⁽¹²⁾, which are usually based on words which already exist in the language.

e.g. hijueputivo (q.v.) based on a combination of hijueputa and ejecutivo, etc. or loan-words ⁽¹³⁾ adopted from other languages.

e.g. friquearse (q.v.) from the English to freak; caché (q.v.) from the French le cachet, etc.

2.2. Numerical distribution of categories in the corpus

The number of examples of each of the above categories found in the corpus, and the percentage of the corpus represented by each category are given in Fig. 1. Due to the necessarily somewhat subjective nature of the selection of words and phrases for inclusion in the

(11) cf. Bendezú Neyra : 38, 40; Jespersen : 159; Partridge : 26; Trejo : xxiv, etc.

(12) cf. Bendezú Neyra : 29,33; Hildebrandt : 15; Trejo : xxvii, etc.

(13) cf. Bendezú Neyra : 21-24; Guarnieri : 9-14; Hildebrandt : 15; Jespersen : 163, etc.

corpus (14). small differences in numbers, as for instance between abbreviations and syntagmatic metaphors, are probably not significant. However, larger differences, as for instance between assonantal association and syntagmatic metaphors, may have some significance as an indication of general tendencies in slang creation and the overwhelming numerical superiority of metaphor is undoubtedly a clear indication of a preference for this form of slang creation in Barranquilla. (15)

As may be seen from Figs. 2 and 3 the preference for metaphor remains remarkable when other categories are grouped into the larger classes mentioned above (Fig. 2), and even when the other categories are grouped all together (Fig. 3).

(14) See Introduction, section 1.3.2. for details.

(15) Studies of slang in other languages and in the Spanish of other areas, though not supported by numerical evidence would suggest that this tendency is general, cf. Benduzú Neyra : 43; Guarnieri : 9; Niceforo : 108; Partridge : 24; Trejo : xxvi, etc.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NO. OF EXAMPLES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	<u>(16)</u>
Metaphor	185	66	(+2)
Assonantal association	18	6.5	(+2)
Restriction of meaning	14	5	
Loan-words	12	4	
Extension of meaning	10	3.5	(+2)
Formulae	8	3	(+4)
Neologisms	8	3	(+4)
Backslang	8	3	
Abbreviations	5	2	
Syntagmatic metaphor	5	2	
Pause-fillers	3	1.5	
Origin unknown	6	2	
T O T A L	: <u>282</u>	<u>(101.5)</u>	<u>(+14)</u>

Fig. 1

Figures in brackets in the final column refer to examples which fall into the respective category as a secondary characteristic (e.g. an example classified as metaphorical neologism, e.g. enfletarse (q.v.) is classified primarily as metaphor and secondarily as neologism).

(16) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

<u>CLASS</u>	<u>NO. OF EXAMPLES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	(17)
Reference relations (metaphor)	185	66.0	(+2)
Sound Relations	31	10.0	(+2)
Sense relations	27	9.5	(+2)
New introductions	20	7.0	(+4)
Syntagmatic relations	13	4.0	(+4)
Origin unknown	6	2.0	
T O T A L	<u>282</u>	<u>(98.5)</u>	<u>(+14)</u>

Fig. 2.

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>NO. OF EXAMPLES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	(17)
Metaphor	185	66.0	(+2)
All others	97	34.0	(+12)
T O T A L	<u>282</u>	<u>(100.0)</u>	<u>(+14)</u>

Fig. 3.

(17) Percentages are rounded to nearest 0.5 percent.

2.3. Word - context interaction

2.3.1. Unusual predication

Turning to an examination of the characteristics of the above mentioned categories, we find that all except those mentioned in Section 2.1.5. involve the unusual predication of a word or phrase which already exists in the language but is normally used in a different context, here termed the usual context. Paul Ricoeur distinguishes metaphor from other figures and specifically from metonymy on the grounds that the former is predicative and the latter is not. (18) This distinction, however, ignores the fact that denomination itself must be viewed as a form of predication if it is not to degenerate into word magic. Any polysemic word (and absolute univocity is surely extremely rare) relies on context, either linguistic, extralinguistic or both, for determination of its meaning (sense and reference) in any specific utterance. The difference between slang predication and usual predication, then, is not the fact of dependence on context but the degree to which the word or phrase in question may be expected (19) to be predicated of the subject or, in other words, the degree to which it relies on context for determination of meaning.

(18) e.g. "Only metonymy can be treated purely as a phenomenon of denomination" (132), "(...) metaphorical equivalences set predicative operations in motion that metonymy ignores." (133)

(19) The question of predictability and the relevance of information theory to meaning in language will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

No word in isolation is a slang word (except, of course, for new introductions which are not under discussion here); it becomes so only when predicated of certain subjects, that is to say when used in slang context. Slang, if it is not to defy description completely, must be seen not as an object but as a process; it consists not in a collection of items of vocabulary but in the interaction between those items and the contexts in which they are used. Interaction theories of metaphor such as those of Beardsley, Black, Richards and Ricoeur will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter; my point here is that a theory of interaction is necessary for the understanding of all slang usage, for that which relies on sound or syntagmatic relations as much as for that which relies on metaphor,

e.g. the word modelar (q.v.) becomes slang only when it is predicated of someone's going to prison in the Cárcel Modelo, though this usage is based not on metaphor but on assonantal association; mico (q.v.) will be understood in the sense 'one who drinks at someone else's expense' and therefore as slang, only when predicated of such a person, though again such slang predication is not based on metaphor, (20) etc.

Even pause-fillers are best described in these terms since lack of sense or reference may be considered a special case of unusual predication.

This leads us to the question of whether the task of linguistic study

- (20) Such cases would also defy description in terms of semic analysis or semantic features since their meaning in usual context is irrelevant to their slang usage.

is the description of competence or of performance (21) and, in fact, to the question of whether this distinction is valid or whether we should say with Labov (1977b, 1977d, 1978e, 1978h, 1978i) that the two are so thoroughly interrelated as to make it impossible to isolate competence for the purpose of linguistic study.

It is clear that there exists a distinction between competence and performance; when we leave a sentence unfinished or change its structure half way through, it is not, in the majority of cases, due to our being incapable of producing a well-formed sentence. However, precisely where to draw the line between the two is less clear. In the present case, since, as we have shown, slang exists only in the use of words in actual utterances, this is surely a facet of performance. Nonetheless, is the ability to recognise such utterances as instances of slang not a competence ability? Slang, then, would seem to exist at the very point where competence and performance meet and can only be described in terms of interaction between the two (22); the effectiveness of the use of a word in a slang context depends on competence but exists only in performance. Just as slang consists in a process of interaction between word and context, it also entails a process of interaction between competence and performance, and any attempt at a rigid separation of the two will place slang outside the field of description (23). Labov has consistently shown that many phenomena of phonetic and grammatical change can only be

(21) cf. Chomsky (1965 :3-4)

(22) For a similar view of the competence/performance distinction in relation to the interpretation of metaphor, cf. Loewenberg : 326

(23) As it has usually been placed, cf. Introduction, Section 1.1.2.

satisfactorily described using performance data (1977b, 1977c, 1978a, 1978e, 1978g, 1978h, 1978i) and the same is true for the phenomena of semantic change to be seen in slang. This interdependence of competence and performance is more marked in metaphor than in other forms of slang, and more marked in original than in commonly used metaphor and I shall return to it in the next chapter.

2.3.2. Types of interaction

While all are cases of interaction between the slang word or phrase and its context, the form this interaction takes may be of several types. As we have seen the grounds for the interaction may be divided into four main classes (reference, sense, syntagmatic or phonetic relations); the effects thereof also fall into a broader classification than that of the eleven categories:-

- (1) Creation of new meaning which is both precise and of referential import. This includes metaphor, to be discussed in the next chapter, and those new introductions which are used to fill a gap in the vocabulary of the host language, e.g. friguearse (q.v.), etc.
- (2) Creation of an amusing or playful effect on a purely linguistic level and without referential import. This includes assonantal association, backslang, abbreviations, syntagmatic metaphors, formulae, and those examples from other categories which involve the use of irony, e.g. acronecuario (q.v.), hijueputivo (q.v.),

etc. The importance of language play as a function of slang will be further investigated in Chapter 7.

- (3) A reduction in precision of meaning⁽²⁴⁾ of the word or phrase. This includes pause-fillers and restriction and extension of meaning (while restriction of meaning might be expected to increase rather than reduce precision this is not, in fact, the case since the close proximity between the slang and usual senses of the word and the resulting very heavy reliance on context often lead to the possibility of confusion, e.g. a sentence like el hombre iba cargado (v. cargado in) could mean 'the man was laden', 'the man was carrying drugs', or 'the man was carrying the loot from a robbery', according to the speaker and situation).

The marked contrast in semantic effect between (1) and (3) corresponds to a differing purpose on the part of the speaker. While in (1) precision and creativity are all important, in (3) we find that, in the case of pause-fillers, the purpose is merely to avoid a silence, and, in the case of restriction of meaning, most examples are cant,

- (24) It is interesting to note that those examples which show a greater change in meaning as between use in usual and slang contexts, also show greater precision in meaning in slang contexts, while those which involve a lesser shift from usual sense (in other words, a lesser distance from the Standard) show a reduction in precision. This brings to mind Labov's (1977d : 213-222) comments on the contrast between the precision of the vernacular and the verbosity of the standard (cf. also Bendaui Neyra : 15, and seems to suggest that a radical difference between slang and standard usage is an essential factor for precision in semantic creativity. I shall return to this question in Chapters 7 & 8.

that is to say their purpose is not creative but defensive, to be not better understood but less understood. Extension of meaning falls somewhere between the two extremes in that its purpose is neither defensive nor creative. It is frequently the result of the cultural importance of a concept which causes it to 'spill over' into other domains (e.g. ganar (q.v.), ¡meto! (q.v.) and va jugando (q.v.), are all examples of gambling vocabulary with slang use in more general contexts). The importance of cultural factors in slang usage will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

It is clear, then, that by far the larger part of slang production is motivated by a desire for semantic creativity and precision, with referential import, and that the preferred mechanism for achieving this end is metaphor.

CHAPTER 3 : METAPHOR

3.1. A working definition

In the previous chapter, we classified those instances of slang usage which are based on a relationship between the usual reference of the slang word or phrase and its reference in the slang context as metaphor. Before proceeding to a discussion of possible means of formal description of metaphor and of the characteristics of the various sub-categories thereof to be found in the corpus, it seems helpful at this stage to outline some of the features which I consider to be characteristic of metaphor in general, as opposed to other types of discourse and to be necessary (though perhaps not sufficient) conditions for the understanding of an utterance as metaphorical.

- (1) The presence of semantic or pragmatic ⁽¹⁾ deviance which blocks a literal ⁽²⁾ interpretation of the utterance.
- (2) This deviance takes the form of unusual predication ⁽³⁾ of a word (or words) or phrase(s) but not of the entire utterance.

- (1) On pragmatic deviance cf. Levin (1977 :Ch.1); Black : 29-30.
- (2) I avoid the term proper in order to avoid the notion that the meaning of a word is in any way given or unchangeable. It is however unrealistic to suggest that a word may equally well have any meaning the speaker cares to give it. The vast majority of words are assigned the same interpretation in the majority of instances of their occurrence, an interpretation which does not create the tension, to be discussed below, so characteristic of metaphor.
- (3) Cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1. above.

- (3) The unusual predication is motivated by some relationship between the usual reference of the word or phrase and its reference in the utterance under consideration.
- (4) Both speaker and hearer know (a) that the utterance is not literally true and (b) that the other party knows that it is not literally true. (4)

Condition (1) serves to distinguish metaphor from literal utterances and from those in which deviance is purely grammatical,

e.g. the man sing, down if go river the I. (2) distinguishes metaphor from those utterances in which none of the elements are to be taken literally, e.g. allegory. (3) distinguishes metaphor from the other types of unusual predication discussed in Chapter 2, and (4) distinguishes metaphor from mistakes and lies. (5)

These conditions set no limit on the number of elements of an utterance which may be metaphorical. Hence an utterance like the famous colorless green ideas sleep furiously (6) would be taken as

- (4) In terms of discourse analysis, it is an AB-event that the utterance is not literally true. For a similar condition on ritual insults, v. Labov (1977g : 338-339). This seems a more satisfactory interpretation than that which would deny metaphor a truth-value (e.g. Loewenberg : 332; McCloskey : 216) since the latter would confine metaphor to the realms of emotive meaning and also prevent the inclusion in the analysis of dead metaphor, which clearly does have a truth-value, thereby losing an interesting generalisation.
- (5) This may seem a trivial point, but, particularly in the case of pragmatic deviance, can be an important factor in the recognition of metaphor.
- (6) Chomsky (1957 : 15).

metaphor although it is extremely difficult, if not impossible to interpret. I do not see this as a serious problem, however, as the purpose here is the study of language as it is used, not of the inventions of linguists. Any necessary limits will therefore be established by the actual occurrence or non-occurrence of utterances and need not be artificially set by the theory.

(3), by not specifying the type of reference relationship, includes not only relations of similarity but also those of contiguity and inclusion, generally classified as metonymy and synecdoche. I shall maintain the latter distinction here but shall consider metonymy and synecdoche as sub-categories of metaphor. (7) The difference between reference relations of contiguity or inclusion and those of similarity I do not consider to be of any greater importance or interest than that between the various types of similarity, e.g. functional and perceptive, whereas the similarities between all figures here termed metaphor are considerable (they share conditions (1) - (4) above as well as other features to be discussed below) and are of considerable generality.

3.2. The description of metaphor

There has been considerable discussion as to whether or not metaphor (along with other figurative uses of language) is to be included in

(7) A much disputed point. Writers who take a broad view of metaphor as including metonymy and synecdoche include Black, Levin (1977), Lyons (1977), Richards and Wheelwright.

a theory of language (8). However, since Weinreich's powerful statement (9) in favour of its inclusion, there has been an upsurge of interest in the question of how to describe metaphor. When we turn to the study of slang, and indeed of all colloquial speech, it becomes clear from the enormous quantity of metaphor, both live and dead, which is used in everyday conversation, that any theory which treats it as a marginal or extra-linguistic phenomenon is unrealistic and unsatisfactory. Metaphor, therefore, must be described and we shall see that its description raises certain fundamental questions of relevance to the study of other areas of language.

3.2.1. The question of deviance

One of the central questions for the description of metaphor is whether it is to be described as in some way deviant. Some writers (10) reject the notion of deviance on the grounds that some metaphorical utterances are completely well-formed. However, if we include pragmatic deviance we shall find that all metaphors are deviant (11) and that it is that deviance which creates metaphoric tension

(8) Notably the Katz and Fodor theory which specifically excluded figurative usage.

(9) (1966a) e.g. 'a semantic theory is of marginal interest if it is incapable of dealing with poetic uses of language, and more generally, with interpretable deviance.' (471).

(10) e.g. Loewenberg : 323.

(11) The argument that utterances containing embedded metaphors, e.g. 'It is nonsense to say that this man is a lion' are non-deviant is irrelevant to the present discussion since such utterances are themselves metalinguistic statements on the deviance of the metaphor.

and sparks off the process of interpretation. Indeed, the presence of deviance may be the deciding factor as to whether an utterance is metaphorical or literal. Thus (1) is clearly metaphorical without reference to context, whereas (2) may be metaphorical or literal according to whether it involves pragmatic deviance.

(1) This man is a lion

(2) Richard is a lion

The main difficulty here is the question of where to place dead metaphor. It is difficult to see how such conventional metaphors as e.g. 'the leg of a table' can reasonably be classed as deviant, yet if we wish to preserve the unity of metaphor, they must be. We shall see below that this problem may be solved by treating lexicalization as an integral part of the metaphoric process (12).

3.2.2. The description of deviance

The question of how to describe this deviance has revolved among philosophers around the debate between substitution and interaction

- (12) Jakobson (1960) avoids calling metaphor deviant by treating it as an instance of code-switching. This however does not seem helpful since it would also entail a break between live and dead metaphor and would weaken the relationships between the metaphoric process and other areas of language which I shall seek to establish below. Chomsky (1964) prefers the term 'degrees of grammaticalness', which I also consider unsatisfactory since it excludes pragmatic deviance from the discussion.

theories (13), and among linguists around the nature of the transfer or amalgamation of semantic features (14), which may be used in the formalization of either substitution or interaction theories. Substitution theories entail two serious drawbacks: firstly, they allow no scope for referential import or for the development of new meaning on the part of metaphor; secondly, they ignore the dynamic nature of metaphor and therefore fail to account for the tension which makes metaphor such an effective linguistic device. I shall therefore concentrate on a development of the interaction theory.

3.2.3. The importance of tension

One of the defining characteristics of metaphor is the tension which is created between diverse elements which, as we shall see below in Section 3.2.4., may be either tenor and vehicle (15), focus and frame (16), or a combination of the four. This tension, occasioned by the need to reconcile at least two meanings which are at least partially incompatible, is what makes metaphor so effective by drawing the hearer/reader into active participation in what is being said (17)

- (13) For substitution views cf. e.g. Henle, Konrad, Stevenson, Wheelwright, etc.; for interaction theories cf. e.g. Beardsley, Black, Richards, etc. For resumé and discussion of the two cf. Mooij, Ricoeur.
- (14) cf. e.g. Katz and Fodor, Levin (1977), Weinreich (1966).
- (15) cf. Richards.
- (16) cf. Black
- (17) This has been noted in various ways by many authors. cf. e.g. Beardsley, Black, Chomsky (1964), Goodman, Khatchadourian, McCloskey, Richards, Ricoeur.

Metaphor is seen by many writers in the interaction school as a deliberate category mistake, the tension created by which causes the rearrangement or reorganisation of the semantic features involved and the high-lighting of certain features which might normally pass unnoticed. (18) This explanation is undoubtedly helpful as far as it goes but it too tends to confine the function of metaphor to emotive meaning and fails to account satisfactorily for the productivity inherent in metaphor whereby the same utterance may be given a wealth of different interpretations or for the process of lexicalization. The reason for this failure is that here too we are dealing with a static theory. Two ideas or meanings are seen as having interacted with one another and the object of study is the result of that interaction. I propose that a satisfactory account must view metaphor as a continuing process of interaction and that the object of study is not any one state attained during that process but rather the process itself.

3.2.4. Metaphor as a dialectic process

I shall deal with the case of an utterance containing one metaphor, as cases involving more than one metaphor will simply require reduplication of the same process for their description.

We have seen that the starting point for metaphor consists in the conflict caused by the juxtaposition of two or more partially

(18) Most of the writers mentioned in the previous note, especially Black.

incompatible clusters of semantic features or of a cluster of semantic features and a situation in the real world, thus creating the deviance which blocks any literal interpretation. I find it helpful here to retain both Richard's tenor/vehicle terminology and Black's focus/frame terminology. The latter I use to describe the tension created between the metaphorical word ⁽¹⁹⁾ and its linguistic context as in (1), the former that between the metaphorical word and its extralinguistic context as in (2) (when Richard is in fact a human being).

(1) This man is a lion

(2) Richard is a lion

It is also an essential element of metaphor that the creation of this conflict be motivated. The speaker juxtaposes the two elements of the tension because s/he sees at least one feature in common between them, and it is the grounds for the metaphor which make it acceptable to the hearer ⁽²⁰⁾ rather than being rejected as nonsense. This common feature however, as we shall see below when discussing the sub-categories of metaphor to be found in the corpus, need not necessarily be one which would normally be found in the dictionary definition of the word in question, but may often be a facet of the speaker's attitude to the tenor and vehicle (e.g. when we call someone 'you pig', distaste on the part of the speaker is the feature in common between tenor and vehicle). Similarly, the common feature may not be a quality pertaining to the object but a facet of its (physical or conceptual) position, as in the case of metonymy and synecdoche. Interpretation consists in a dialectic process of analysis

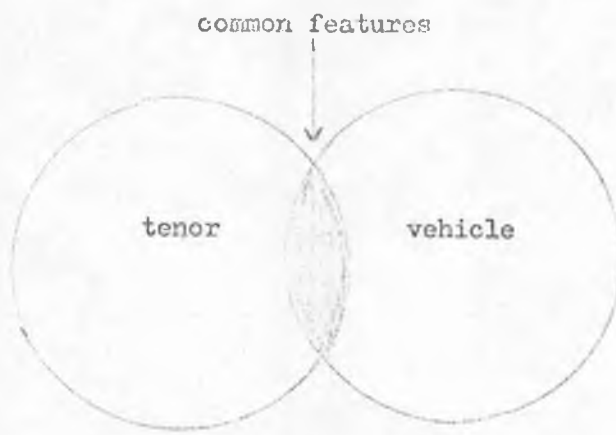
(19) Although I am treating metaphor as a process not as a word, the process is inevitably centred around a word or phrase, hence the description of words/phrases in the corpus as 'metaphor'.
cf. Ricoeur : 156.

(20) cf. Guiraud (1975 : 26) : 'motivation frees the sign from convention'.

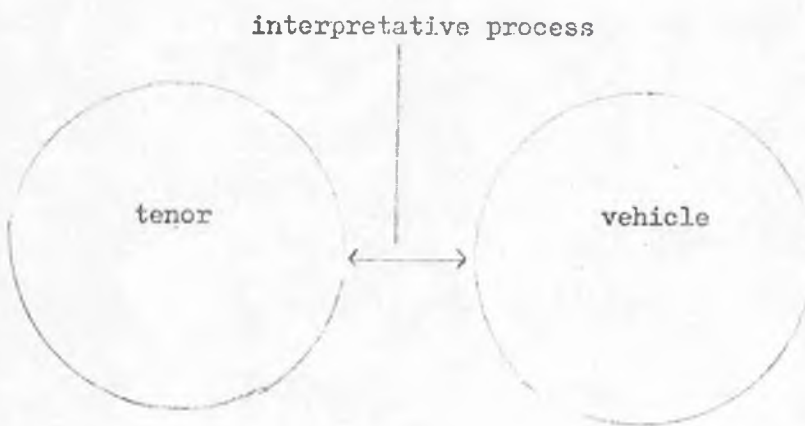
followed by synthesis, as the common features are discovered and the new joint meaning is created, high-lighting those features which are found to be in common but also influencing the remaining features of the elements involved, and entailing continuous interaction between the features of the two elements. Thus metaphoric interpretation is not static but allows for continual change and much individual variation as the rearrangement of features and the effects of interaction may vary from one hearer to another. The greater the distance between the two elements, the greater will be the effort entailed in carrying out the interpretative process and therefore the greater the tension and the stronger the effect of high-lighting. This process could perhaps be illustrated by a Venn diagram, where the two circles represent tenor and vehicle and the overlapping area represents the common features which are high-lighted, as in Fig.4(a). Where there is no obvious common feature, as in some original metaphor, the tension is even greater as the hearer/reader must search for some factor to draw the two elements together (Fig.4(b)). If the two elements are too far distant (Fig.4(c)) the attempt to forge a link may be relinquished and communication may break down. This may happen for two main reasons. Firstly, an important element in metaphor is what Black terms the 'system of associated commonplaces' (21); many objects have certain attributes traditionally assigned to them in a certain culture and metaphor frequently draws on these attributes; therefore a hearer/reader from a different culture, unaware of the associated commonplaces may find the metaphor unintelligible, e.g. for Colombians the pig is assigned the attribute 'stupidity', hence marrano (q.v.) is used in Barranquilla to refer to a stupid or ingenuous person, a metaphor which would most likely be unintelligible

(21) Closely related to Bickerton's (1969) theory of marked signs.

(a)



(b)



(c)



Fig. 4.

to an English-speaking person with no prior knowledge of the cultural background, who would expect it to refer to a dirty or unpleasant character. The relationship between metaphor and various aspects of culture will be further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Secondly, in the case of original metaphor, if the relationship is too vague or far-fetched, communication may break down. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. In general, the greater the distance between tenor and vehicle, not only the greater tension created, but also the greater the possibility of individual variation in interpretation. It is for this reason (among others) that Levin's (1977) attempt to formalise rules of construal fails, since it leaves no scope for variety or development of interpretation. At least in the case of live metaphor, all that can be done in the way of a construal rule is to say 'take the semantic features of both tenor and vehicle or focus and frame as the case may be, and combine them'. The precise form of combination must be left to free variation and must be allowed to develop, not forced into a static position.

3.2.5. Metaphor in time

Metaphor may be described as process on two levels: on the level of each occurrence of metaphor as we have just seen, and on the level of the development of metaphor over time. The variation in degrees of tension or degrees of deviation according to the distance between tenor and vehicle which we saw in the last section, is closely matched by a scale of decreasing deviation as a metaphor develops over time. Thus live and dead metaphor may be seen as different stages of development along the same continuum. Every metaphor is live and

creates considerable tension when it is first used; if it is frequently repeated, the process of interpretation becomes habitual, causes less tension, allows of less variation, and is more closely controlled by context until it reaches the stage of lexicalization. This process of lexicalization is closely matched in slang metaphor (and in non-metaphorical slang) by the process of socialization through which slang gradually gains social acceptance but loses its impact. A possible method of formalizing the description of this process would be through a combination of a Bailey-style wave model to describe the process of lexicalization and socialization and Labov-style variability rules to describe context-bound variation once the stage of lexicalization has been reached and free variation is no longer possible. Such formalization would require greater knowledge of the rules of discourse and of methods of analyzing the extra-linguistic context than are at present available, but this may be a fruitful field for investigation, particularly as it would allow the construction of semantic rules of the same form as syntactic and phonetic rules.

This interpretation involves the breakdown of the traditional diachronic/synchronic dichotomy, since the processes occurring on each level are interdependent and development through time is closely matched with development through social space. (22)

This is not the only traditional distinction to be brought into question by the description of metaphor. As we have seen, the extra-linguistic context is often of paramount importance in the recognition and interpretation of metaphor and can therefore no longer be discarded as outside the realms of linguistic analysis. Furthermore, as already

(22) Bickerton (1971) envisages a similar collapse of the diachronic/synchronic dichotomy with regard to the process of de-Creolization.

suggested in Section 2.3.1. the competence/performance distinction may no longer be rigidly maintained in the description of metaphor. Arguments as to whether metaphoric interpretation is an aspect of competence or performance (23) are doomed to circularity since interaction between the two is necessarily involved. The actual occurrence of metaphor is an element of performance since it exists only in actual utterances; however, the recognition of it as metaphor depends on competence knowledge of the literal meaning of the word(s) in question and interpretation relies on a combination of that knowledge with the information provided by the performance juxtaposition of tenor and vehicle. Furthermore, this interaction occurs not only on the level of each actual instance of metaphor but also throughout the process of lexicalization/socialization discussed at the beginning of this section. Each performance occurrence of metaphor affects the position and make-up of its elements in competence and such alteration in turn affects future occurrences in performance, and so on. Thus the competence/performance dichotomy is never entirely lost but must be treated as a process of interaction rather than as a rigid distinction.

It may be legitimate to ask, if notions such as the diachronic/synchronic and competence/performance distinctions are incapable of handling such an important area of language as metaphor (24), whether they are not in need of serious re-appraisal.

(23) cf. e.g. Butters, Fowler, Levin (1967), Matthews.

(24) A suggestion which is further supported by the fact that until recently linguists have refused to attempt the description of metaphor, and recent attempts have not been dramatically successful.

3.2.6. The importance of ambiguity

Ambiguity is of the essence of metaphor. In the last two sections we have seen that metaphor exists on the very borderline where two previously distinct elements meet - the borderline between two clusters of semantic features, between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic, between the deviant and the non-deviant, between the diachronic and the synchronic and between competence and performance. Furthermore, the reference of metaphor is ambiguous in two ways. Firstly, it is ambiguous in that the continuous interpretative process allows of constant vacillation, giving an overall interpretation which Ricoeur adeptly describes as 'is and is not'. Secondly, metaphor, in the majority of cases, describes the ambiguous areas of experience, those which fall in-between our usual forms of classification, and which only rise to consciousness when metaphor draws attention to them. (25) Hence metaphor cannot be entirely relegated to the region of emotive meaning since it also reveals areas of reference of which we were previously unaware.

The ambiguous, borderline nature of metaphor may constitute a further reason for the tension created by it and for its effectiveness as a linguistic device. Leach (1972) (26) develops a theory of

(25) Hence the contention of some writers, e.g. Black, Ricoeur, that metaphor creates new meaning, or creates similarities.

(26) See also Douglas : 54-72, on the abominations of Leviticus, Lévi-Strauss (1972f : 225-226).

the taboo attached to those areas of our experience which are ambiguous, this taboo serving to permit the maintenance of discrete concepts by the suppression of intermediate concepts. One result of this taboo is that ritual value is attached to the tabooed, ambiguous, intermediate zones. If this is valid then both value and anxiety would attach to metaphor since it describes ambiguous areas and is itself an ambiguous area. The process of lexicalization would reduce this anxiety as the tabooed ambiguous area became a well-defined concept itself through habitual reference to it, and as we have seen metaphoric tension is in fact reduced through lexicalization.

3.2.7. The unity of metaphor

One of the consequences of the notion expressed in the last section, that metaphor refers to the ambiguous intermediate zones of experience, is that it enables us to treat what have usually been considered two distinct classes of metaphor as merely two aspects of the same phenomenon. Many writers ⁽²⁷⁾ have suggested that some metaphors fill 'gaps' in our vocabulary, while others are used purely for stylistic effect. However, under the present interpretation this distinction disappears since all metaphor is seen as referring to aspects of experience which were previously unnamed; those cases generally termed catachresis are those in which the process is conscious, while in those termed stylistic or creative it is unconscious.

(27) e.g. Benezú Neyra, Black, Henle, Wheelwright and many others.

We have also seen that by seeing metaphor as process not object, both in each instance and over a larger time-scale, it is possible to avoid creating an artificial distinction between live and dead metaphor, treating them instead as different stages of one and the same process. (28)

All metaphor, then, is united by a similar process of production and interpretation and by a similar ambiguous position in the very centre of some traditional dichotomies. I shall now turn to an examination of some of the sub-categories to be found within this overall unity.

3.3. Sub-categories of metaphor

The examples of metaphor which appear in the corpus all have the above characteristics in common and would, with one or two exceptions appear on the time-scale mentioned in Section 3.2.5. at a position somewhere between original and dead metaphor. All are of frequent enough occurrence for their interpretation to be broadly predictable, yet the great majority are still live enough to allow of a certain degree of flexibility and to create metaphoric tension. On the whole, dead metaphors have not been included in the corpus as they do not generally retain the slang 'feeling' which is my criterion for inclusion (29) (on the equivalence between lexicalization and socialization cf. Section 3.2.5. above). The one or two exceptions to this (e.g. ouji (q.v.), jopo (q.v.)) are specified as such in the corpus. The exact position on the time-scale varies somewhat from one example to another

(28) This is further supported by the way dead metaphors can sometimes spring unexpectedly back to life when used inappropriately. Lawrence provides many amusing examples of this phenomenon.

(29) cf. Introduction, Sections 1.1.1. and 1.3.2.

e.g. hierba (q.v.) has reached a greater degree of lexicalization and socialization than monte (q.v.). These differences are indicated in the corpus by the comment in each entry on social distribution - the more socially restricted a usage, the less the degree of lexicalization and socialization.

3.3.1. The nature of the overlap

Within the overall unity the corpus examples of metaphor may be sub-divided according to the nature of the feature which tenor and vehicle have in common, in other words according to the motivation of the metaphor. (30) Three broad classes emerge from such an analysis: metaphors motivated by positional features of tenor and vehicle, those motivated by perceptual features and those motivated by functional features.

3.3.2. Positional features

Two main types are to be found here:

- (a) synecdoche or relations of inclusion, e.g. cantón (q.v.), the name of part of a house is used to refer to the whole house.
- (b) metonymy or relations of contiguity (31) which may be further

(30) Kany : 44 ff., makes an analysis of categories of metaphor along similar lines but the details of his analysis are different. Notably he classes function with quality and makes no sub-divisions within that category, he classes emotive effect with perceptual effect, and he does not include metonymy (which he elsewhere sub-classifies in great detail) or synecdoche in metaphor.

(31) I here use contiguity in the broadest sense cf. Fontanier : 'cause to effect, instrument to purpose, container to context, thing to its location, sign to signification, physical to moral, model to thing' (v. Ricoeur : 56). My sub-divisions are slightly different from Fontanier's due to the nature of the examples with which I am dealing.

sub-divided into five categories:

- (i) cause and effect e.g. palida (q.v.) where an effect of fear is used to refer to fear itself.
- (ii) material and object e.g. gomas (q.v.) where the shoes are referred to in terms of the material from which they are made.
- (iii) conceptual contiguity e.g. ley (q.v.) where the motivation is conceptual contiguity between the abstract entity, the law, and the person representing it, the policeman.
- (iv) physical contiguity in which a quality of one object is attributed to the other e.g. bobo (q.v.) where the foolishness of the wearer is attributed to the watch.
- (v) physical contiguity in which the two objects themselves are assimilated, e.g. manteca (q.v.) where the maid herself and one of the materials she uses are assimilated.

3.3.3. Perceptual features:

These may also be sub-divided according to the sense to which they appeal.

(a) visual similarity which may be further classified as follows:

- (i) shape e.g. coco (q.v.) used to refer to the head.
- (ii) colour e.g. aguate (q.v.) used to refer to the policeman, whose uniform is green.

- (iii) general appearance in which the operative factor is the impression created by the two objects. e.g. bagre (q.v.) used to describe an ugly woman.
- (b) similarity of sound e.g. timbales (q.v.) used to refer to (leather) shoes.
- (c) other physical qualities e.g. tronco (q.v.) used to refer to anything of great size. (Other qualities included in this section are hardness and material).

3.3.4. Functional features

Here the relationship between tenor and vehicle, in contrast to those discussed in the preceding two sections, is highly abstract in character. An aspect of the functions of both tenor and vehicle is seen as in some way similar or as falling into the same category. Three aspects of function may be distinguished in this respect.

- (a) relations, where similarity is established between the functional relations existing between two parties (usually, though not invariably two people) involved in the tenor and those involved in the vehicle. e.g. mamar gallo (q.v.) in which the relationship between subject and object in metaphorical context are seen as similar to the relations between the fighting cock and its trainer. These expressions are frequently verbs or verb phrases (15 out of 29 examples in the corpus ⁽³²⁾) in which case the pertinent

(32) This may not seem a very high proportion but is considerably higher than the overall proportion of verbs to the rest of the corpus, cf. Section 4.1.2., Fig. 10 below.

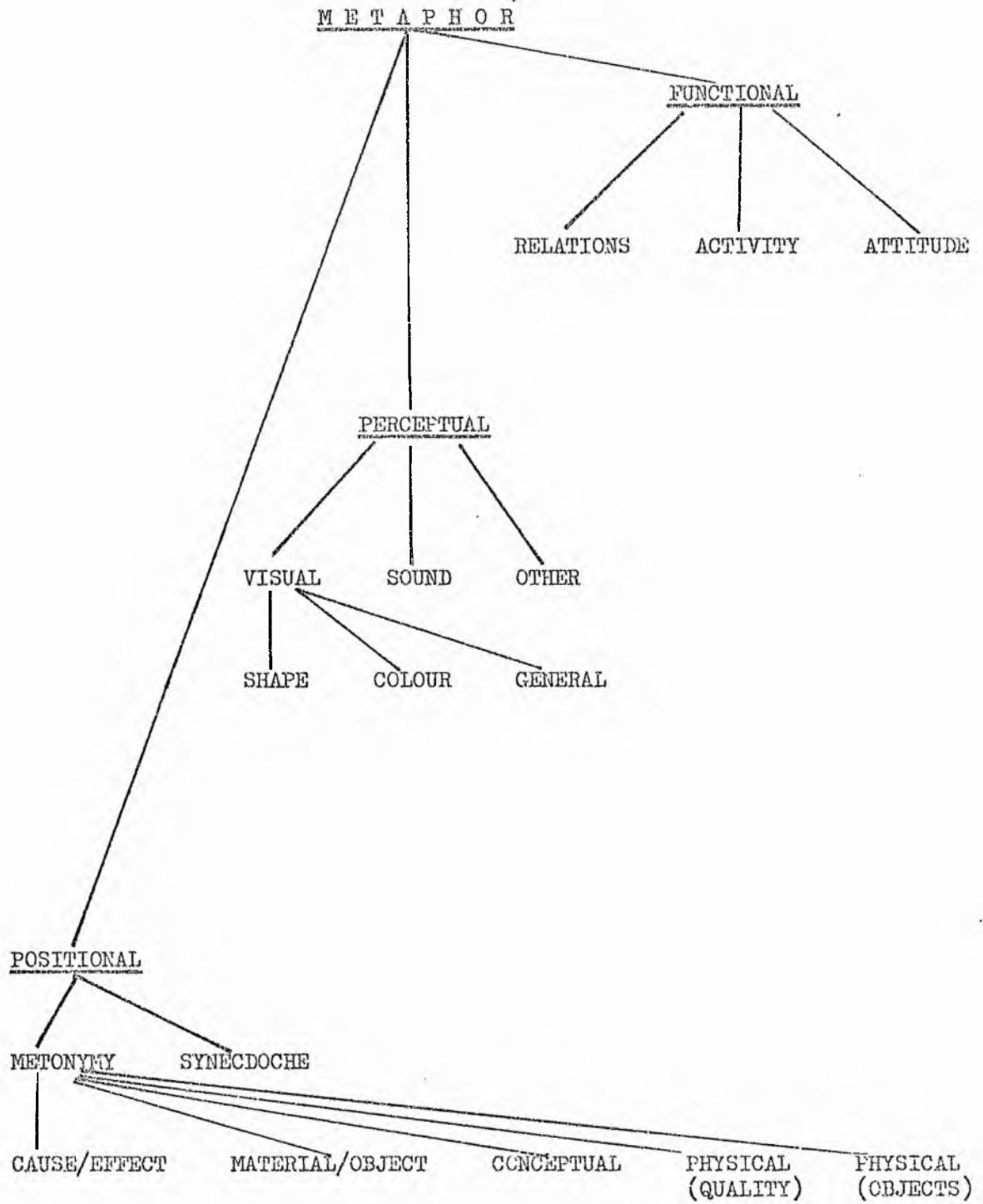


Fig. 5.

relationship is that of subject and object. The remainder whether nouns or adjectives generally refer to some aspect of a relationship between two or more people e.g. cuadro (q.v.) where the relationship between two friends is assimilated to that between two physically matched objects, or occasionally to the relationship between a person and an object e.g. rieles (q.v.) where the relationship between a person and his/her shoes is compared with that between a train and the rails.

- (b) activity where an aspect or aspects of the activities of tenor and vehicle are seen as similar e.g. cachegua (q.v.) in which the annoying and unreliable behaviour of a person is compared with the deceptive defensive behaviour of the fish.
- (c) attitude of the speaker where a similar emotive reaction is produced in the speaker by both tenor and vehicle e.g. culebra (q.v.) in which feelings of fear and repulsion inspired by the snake are compared with similar feelings surrounding financial debts.

This hierarchical categorisation of metaphor is represented in diagram form in Fig. 5.

3.3.5. Numerical distribution in the corpus

The numerical distribution of these categories in the corpus is shown in Fig. 6. where it can be seen that features of activity are by a long way the preferred grounds, followed by the other two categories of functional motivation, and that numbers of metaphors motivated by positional and perceptual features are remarkably small.

The preference for functionally based metaphor is even more striking when we turn to Fig. 7. which shows the distribution between the three major classes.

3.3.6. The effects of interaction

The effects of the interaction of tenor and vehicle are many and varied as indicated in Section 3.2.4. above, with much variation from one individual speaker/hearer to another. However, in the case of the semi-lexicalized metaphor with which I am dealing here, variation is reduced, and certain broad generalizations may be made. The major effects are of two kinds: firstly, the highlighting or foregrounding of the features which constitute the motivation of the metaphor, the features specified in the preceding section; secondly, certain secondary effects which result from the interaction of features other than those highlighted. These are particularly noticeable when a contrast exists between tenor and vehicle with respect to whether they refer to people, animals or objects ⁽³³⁾, and in more general terms whether they refer to concrete or abstract entities. The effect of vehicle on tenor is generally more profound than the reverse effect, partly because the tenor is frequently not expressed, and partly because it is the vehicle which introduces the unexpected element and therefore draws more attention. These secondary effects of vehicle on tenor may be considered in four broad classes: personification, animalization, objectification and concretization. This introduces a further ambiguity into the metaphor, as for example, in the case of animalization of a person, the object of reference is and is not person, is and is not animal.

(33) I here include plants in the category 'objects'.

Category	No. of Examples	Percentage (34)
Activity	63	34.0
Relations	29	15.5
Attitude	28	15.0
Visual (i)	13	7.0
Metonymy (i)	9	5.0
Visual (iii)	8	4.5
Other physical qualities	5	2.5
Metonymy (v)	5	2.5
Synecdoche	4	2.0
Metonymy (iv)	3	1.5
Metonymy (iii)	3	1.5
Visual (ii)	3	1.5
Sound	2	1.0
Metonymy (ii)	1	0.5
Motivation unknown	11	6.0
T O T A L	187	100.0

Fig. 6.

(34) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

<u>Class</u>	<u>No. of Examples</u>	<u>Percentage</u> (35)
Positional	25	13.5
Perceptual	31	16.5
Functional	120	64.0
Motivation unknown	11	6.0
T O T A L	<u>187</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Fig. 7.

3.3.7. Personification

This occurs where the tenor is an object and the vehicle a human being, a part of the human body or a human activity e.g. bobo (q.v.) where a human quality, foolishness, is attributed to an inanimate object, the watch. (36) Personification of animals would be theoretically possible (37) but does not occur in the corpus.

3.3.8. Animalization

This takes place when the tenor is human or object and the vehicle is animal e.g. barbul (q.v.) where person and animal are assimilated due to functional features in common, and perico (q.v.) where object and animal are assimilated due to colouring.

(35) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

(36) This corresponds roughly to Levin's (1977) construal mode 2.

(37) And of course frequently occurs in poetry.

3.3.9. Objectification

This takes place when the tenor is human and the vehicle object, e.g. comerse (a alguien)(q.v.) where a verb which normally takes only an object direct object is used with a human direct object. Objectification of animals would also be possible but does not occur in the corpus.

3.3.10. Concretization

This occurs when the tenor is abstract and the vehicle concrete, e.g. timbrarse (q.v.) where the abstract concept of a mental signal is compared with a physical signal. In a number of cases where the tenor is both abstract and human, concretization and objectification combine. These generally refer to mental qualities or activities, e.g. manzanillo (q.v.) in which mental inconsistency is referred to in terms of physical versatility. In a few cases animalization and concretization combine where the tenor is abstract and human and the vehicle is animal, e.g. descrestar (q.v.) where the creation of a mental impression is compared with the creation of a physical impression, and both subject and object of the verb are animalized. The reverse process, or abstraction - concrete tenor and abstract vehicle - is also possible though, as we shall see below it is infrequent, e.g. vergüenza (q.v.) in which a physical entity, a part of the body, is described in terms of an abstract concept.

3.3.11. Numerical distribution in the corpus

The numerical distribution of these classes of secondary effect is shown in Fig. 8 where we can see clearly that animalization and objectification

of persons are easily the most frequently occurring categories, while combined animalization and concretization, abstraction and animalization of objects are extremely rare. Personification is also extremely infrequent. Possible reasons for this phenomenon are (a) that the subject matter of most slang vocabulary is human beings and their activities and (b) one of the major purposes of the creation of slang vocabulary is to give concrete expression to abstract ideas. These two points will be discussed in further detail in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. If we look at Fig. 9, where cases of two combined effects are treated as two separate examples and where animalization is not sub-divided, we can see that numerical distribution as between concretization, objectification and animalization is very even, while personification and abstraction lag far behind.

3.4. Metaphor as second-degree language

Finally, I would like to make a general suggestion to the effect that metaphor be regarded not as completely distinct from other areas of language, but as exemplifying 'normal' language processes taken one step further, language as it were to the power of two. Three fundamental activities of the human intelligence are abstraction, classification and re-arrangement ⁽³⁸⁾, and it is on these three that all language activity is based. ⁽³⁹⁾ Metaphor also relies on these three mental processes but takes them a degree further than literal language ⁽⁴⁰⁾. Similarly, all linguistic meaning relies on a

(38) cf. e.g. Bronowski (1960 : 27; 1973 : 24); Chomsky (1968 : 65).

(39) cf. e.g. Ogden and Richards : 22, 91; Uldall : 42.

(40) cf. e.g. Black : 41.

combination of relations of difference and sameness existing between elements (41), and as we have seen this tension between difference and sameness reaches its height in metaphor (42). Metaphor could also perhaps be seen as a second degree of the process of signification, adding a direct relationship between symbol and symbolized to the conventional relationship found in most areas of language. Furthermore, while all language is to a certain extent dependent on context for its meaning, metaphor, as we have seen, is even more context-bound.

This leads me to suggest that, while to say with Cassirer (1946) that all language is metaphorical is an over-simplification and an unhelpful reduction of some interesting distinctions, it may be possible to treat literal language and metaphor as two extremes of the same continuous process; just as we have shown dead and live metaphor to be two stages of one and the same process (43). This suggestion, of course, is further supported by the fact that so much of what we now take to be literal language was originally metaphorical, and leads us to postulate the existence of a uniformitarian principle in semantics such as suggested by Labov (44) for grammar and phonology, such that: 'the forces operating to produce linguistic change today are of the same kind and order of magnitude as those which operated in the past five or ten thousand years'. Such is obviously a highly tentative hypothesis at present but promises to be a most fruitful area for research.

(41) The whole of structuralist linguistics depends on this notion. For a particularly elegant statement of it v. Genette, quoted by Ricoeur : 53, fn.8.

(42) cf. also Khatchadourian : 231; Ricoeur (esp. Study 6); Richards : 127.

(43) cf. Goodman : 'Is a metaphor, then, simply a juvenile fact, and a fact simply a senile metaphor?' (69).

(44) based on the uniformitarian principle in geology, v. Labov (1978i : 275).

<u>Class</u>	<u>No. of Examples</u>	<u>Percentage</u> (45)
Animalization of persons	31	28.5
Objectification of persons	29	26.0
Concretization	25	23.0
Objectification and Concretization	10	9.0
Personification of objects	6	5.5
Animalization and Concretization	4	3.5
Abstraction	3	2.5
Animalization of objects	<u>2</u>	<u>2.0</u>
T O T A L	<u>109</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Fig. 8.

<u>Class</u>	<u>No. of Examples</u>	<u>Percentage</u> (45)
Concretization (total)	39	32.0
Objectification (total)	38	31.0
Animalization (total)	37	30.0
Personification (total)	6	5.0
Abstraction (total)	<u>2</u>	<u>2.5</u>
T O T A L	<u>123</u>	<u>100.5</u>

Fig. 9.

(45) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

CHAPTER 4 : CONCRETE EXPRESSION OF ABSTRACT IDEAS

4.1. The deficit theory

Before turning my attention to the subject matter of slang and its relations with other aspects of culture, I should like to consider some of the wider implications of the formal semantic processes which we have seen in the preceding two chapters to be the mechanisms of slang creation, in particular the light they may throw on the controversial deficit theory ⁽¹⁾, with regard to the role of language in the underperformance of working class children in formal education.

Slang offers an ideal opportunity for the study of the semantic potential of working class language. The creation of slang vocabulary, in the vast majority of cases, takes place amongst the working class or the underworld. Thus we can see in the corpus that a fairly large proportion of the vocabulary is used only among the lower classes, while those expressions which are used by both lower and middle classes are generally those which have reached a later stage of lexicalization and socialization; that is to say that by comparison with more recent creations, with dictionary references, ⁽²⁾ and with the thoroughly documented social history of certain well-known cases (e.g. bacón (q.v.)), and following the uniformitarian principle postulated in Section 3.4. above, it seems more than probable that they originated among the working class and have only been adopted by the middle class since

- (1) For resumé and discussion of the arguments for and against this theory to date, v. Dittmar.
- (2) In particular Sundheim who often condemns as vulgar usages which are now perfectly acceptable in middle class colloquial speech.

a certain stage of lexicalization has been reached (3). Those which are used exclusively by the middle class are very few and are generally conscious borrowings, e.g. caché (q.v.) from the French le cachet. Slang is also used much more frequently by lower class speakers, who tend to have a smaller range of registers at their command, and therefore less opportunities for code-switching than middle class speakers (4). The latter tend to treat slang as a game whereas for the former it is an essential part of speech. It seems fair, then, to treat slang as lower class semantic creativity.

4.1.1. Bernstein's restricted code

I shall concentrate on the theories of Basil Bernstein and in particular on those aspects thereof to which conclusions drawn from the analysis of the corpus may be especially relevant. They involve certain features which he considers characteristics of the language used by the working class (restricted code), and the cognitive consequence of these features as he sees them. The first of these features concerns syntax. Bernstein notes that the restricted code uses a higher proportion of nouns to verbs than the elaborated code, (5) and also makes very limited use of adjectives and adverbs, (6) from which he concludes that the emphasis is on things rather than processes (7). This he considers leads to the formation of descriptive rather than analytical cognitive processes (8), and the difficulty

(3) For further support for the working class origin of most slang cf. e.g. Bendeñ Neyra : 14; Besses : 9; Hildebrandt : 14; Partridge : 11. For further details of the definition of lower class and middle class followed here, cf. Section 9.1 below.

(4) In this respect I have no argument with the deficit theory.

(5) (1971b:44)

(6) (1971a:28,fn.2)

(7) (1971b:44; 1971c:143)

(8) (1971a:33)

in the generalization of principles (9). Secondly, he suggests that the restricted code emphasises the content rather than the structure of objects, their boundaries rather than the relations into which they enter (10), the concrete rather than the abstract (11). This he claims determines the levels of conceptualization possible (12).

4.1.2. Grammatical categories

The numerical distribution of grammatical categories in the corpus is shown in Fig. 10. The category 'nouns' includes noun phrases, 'verbs' verb phrases, etc. 'Uncategorized' includes formulae which cannot satisfactorily be placed in any of the categories, e.g. no hay caso (q.v.). We can see that, in agreement with Bernstein's findings, numbers of adjectives and adverbs are very small, while the proportion of nouns is very large. However, it is not justifiable immediately to extrapolate from this grammatical fact to a cognitive emphasis on things rather than processes and on descriptive rather than analytical processes and a lack of generalization of principles.

It is simply not true that nouns necessarily emphasize substance. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the vast majority of the corpus vocabulary is metaphor and metaphor itself is not an object but a process. Hence the very existence of most of the vocabulary with which we are dealing, whether nouns or otherwise, consists in

(9) *ibid* : 35

(10) *ibid.* : 24

(11) (1971c : 143)

(12) (1971a : 29)

Category	No. of Examples	Percentage (13)
Nouns	149	52.0
Verbs	80	28.0
Adjectives	29	12.0
Interjections	13	4.5
Vocatives	4	1.5
Adverbs	3	1.0
Unanalyzable	<u>4</u>	<u>1.5</u>
T O T A L	<u>282</u>	<u>100.5</u>

Fig. 10.

a process of interaction between two concepts. Furthermore, the surface form of expression may be deceptive; words like e.g. llave (q.v.), sapo (q.v.), and verga (q.v.), may appear to refer to objects but on closer examination it is found that in slang context, the essential features of their reference are, in the case of llave the relationship whereby the fate of two parties is made interdependent, in the case of sapo the activity of intrusion (which may be physical, social or both) and in the case of verga the inspiration of admiration in the speaker; that is to say they refer not to substances but to processes. If we consult Fig. 7. in Chapter 3, we find that no less than 64 percent of the metaphors in the corpus are motivated by just such functional features and hence refer to processes. Moreover, the cognitive process which lies behind the creation of such metaphors is quite clearly not descriptive but analytical, as, in fact, is that

(13) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

behind some of the metaphors based on positional features, e.g. fresca (q.v.) in which money is endowed with the abstract emotional quality which it produces in its possessor. This leaves only the remainder of those where the motivation is positional and those where it is perceptual as based on descriptive processes.

Nor is it only in metaphor that we find analytical processes at work. The process of restriction of meaning for example involves semantic analysis of the usual meaning prior to emphasis on one aspect thereof, in slang context, e.g. trabajar (q.v.), used in the sense 'to steal'. Likewise the creation of neologisms, whether they refer to substance or to processes involves the analysis and application of the processes of word formation, e.g. salsomafia (q.v.), platillar (q.v.), tarjeta de credimuela (q.v.). Further, all of the above-mentioned processes involve the generalisation of a principle, as, of course, does also the process of extension of meaning. It seems clear then that the creation of slang vocabulary involves a stronger element of analysis than of description and a considerable awareness of processes, both linguistic and extra-linguistic.

4.1.3. Concrete expression

Bernstein (1971c) states that the restricted code 'will emphasize verbally (...) the concrete rather than the abstract'⁽¹⁴⁾, and we have seen above in Section 3.3.11. that concretization is the most frequent of the secondary effects of metaphoric interaction; there seems no doubt, therefore, that verbal emphasis is on the concrete.

(14) 143.

However, once again there is no justification for extrapolation from this to an inability to form abstract concepts or a cognitive emphasis on the content of objects rather than on their structure or on the relationships into which they enter.

In the preceding section we saw that the majority of cases of metaphor in the corpus highlight processes rather than substances. It is also true to say that the relationships between tenor and vehicle are in general highly abstract, e.g. levantar (q.v.), which appears to be a concrete expression, when used in the slang sense 'to find (a person)' establishes a similarity between tenor and vehicle based on an abstract concept of the functional relations between subject and object. In fact, when we compare the numbers of metaphor based on abstract grounds (functional and some positional) with those based on concrete grounds we obtain Fig. 11, in which the preference for abstract grounds is quite striking.

Nor is the assumption of an emphasis on the content of objects rather than the relations into which they enter in any way supported by the corpus material. Apart from the instances cited above, consider, for example, cases such as piña (q.v.), or rieles (q.v.). Agreed, they would seem on first sight to refer to the content of objects but when we examine the basis of their use in slang context we find once again that it is based on relations; in the case of piña on close-knit relations between the various elements of a complex body, and in the case of rieles on the relations between a moving part, the ground and what comes between the two.

Class		No. of Examples	Percentage (15)
Abstract		132	70.5
Concrete	0	44	23.5
Motivation unknown		11	6.0
T O T A L		187	100.0

Fig. 11.

Turning away from metaphor, the process of extension of meaning is also sometimes based on an abstract analysis of relations, e.g. the extension of meto! (q.v.) from the acceptance of a bet in gambling, to agreement with any sort of suggestion. Syntagmatic metaphor is based not on the word itself but on its relations with other words, as too is assonantal association.

It is abundantly clear then that slang creation does not involve over-emphasis of the concrete at the expense of the abstract nor of substance at the expense of relations. It is essential to distinguish between the expression of abstract ideas and the cognitive capacity to form those ideas. A lack of abstract vocabulary is not equivalent to inability to deal with abstract concepts. There may be many reasons for the use of concrete expressions, e.g. a desire for vivid, topical expression, a desire to create emotive effect, a desire to refer to concepts for which one does not control abstract terminology, and many others to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. It is in fact quite extraordinary that Bernstein, and other supporters of the

(15) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

deficit theory, should not recognise this when one considers the other contexts in which the same phenomenon occurs. Quite apart from poetical usage, the concrete metaphorical expressions of science (e.g. chain reaction, life cycle), economics (e.g. strong currency, bouyant pound) and many other disciplines are not taken as evidence that their users are incapable of dealing with abstract concepts!

4.2. Some general conclusions

Clearly all the evidence from the corpus would suggest that the conclusions drawn by Bernstein as to the cognitive consequences of certain linguistic forms used by the working class are quite unjustified. I have, of course, myself in this chapter been indulging in a very dangerous extrapolation in that I have been using material from the Spanish of Barranquilla to refute arguments based on studies of the British working class. Many more detailed studies will be needed in order to find out whether this is valid. However, the fact remains that the superficial characteristics of the material presented here are very similar to those on which Bernstein bases his arguments, so it is reasonable to conclude that much more careful study of linguistic processes is necessary before such arguments can be properly judged ⁽¹⁶⁾. I hope at least to have shown that direct extrapolation from surface linguistic forms to cognitive processes is a highly dubious procedure ⁽¹⁷⁾ and not one upon which educational practice may safely be based ⁽¹⁸⁾.

(16) cf. Labov (1977d : 239) on the need for investigators of the deficit theory to have more knowledge of linguistics.

(17) as the results of Robinson and Creed have shown that Bernstein's views on the consequences of the restricted code for perceptual discrimination cannot be substantiated.

(18) the more practical aspects of the relationship between language and education will be discussed in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 5 : THE SUBJECT MATTER OF SLANG

5.1. Tenor and vehicle

In this chapter, as in the corpus, I use Richard's terms tenor and vehicle in a rather broader sense than his. Tenor I use for the reference, or subject-matter, in slang context of the word or phrase in question, and vehicle for its usual reference, regardless of whether or not metaphor is involved. Further, I am concerned with the categories into which these two terms fall, rather than with individual entities. Thus, for example, the tenor of burro (q.v.) I classify as 'drug' and its vehicle as 'animals'. This procedure allows us to distinguish certain general tendencies, while the details of tenor and vehicle in each particular case are discussed in the corpus.

5.1.1. The tenor

Slang vocabulary tends to accumulate around those topics which for one reason or another are the focus of attention, interest, emotional reaction ⁽¹⁾; often too around those concepts which are either difficult to describe in standard language or whose usual name speakers prefer not to utter ⁽²⁾. Thus, turning to Fig. 12. which shows the numerical distribution in the corpus of the most important

(1) cf. e.g. Benduzú Neyra : 14; Partridge : 29; Sechrist : 427

(2) cf. Leach (1972) (and Sections 3.2.6. above and 7.5. below), Partridge : 29-30. It is interesting to note in this respect that death, which might be expected to attract slang vocabulary (cf. e.g. Lope Blanch (1963)), is the subject of only one expression in the corpus.

categories of tenor (3), we find that the vast majority revolve around human characteristics, human activities and the human body (4). The proportion used to refer to objects is very small and generally refers to objects as they relate to people: some are value judgements (of the pejorative expressions, for example, 30 refer exclusively to people and 5 to people or objects; amongst the appreciatives 13 refer only to people, 9 to people or objects), others refer to such things as finance, food, medicine and clothes which have a direct effect on people's lives.

Those categorized under 'general' exemplify a different process in that either they refer to any object whose name cannot be remembered or is considered unnecessary in the context, or they are used as pause-fillers. In either case they are not the result of particular attention or interest in their reference.

Looking at the list in a little more detail we find that the largest number of expressions are value judgements of one kind or another: pejorative and appreciative expressions and those of psychological characterisation (which are also largely value judgements) together make up almost a third of the corpus material (5). These are closely

(3) Categories of which there is only one example have not been listed separately except where they provide interesting comparison with the table of vehicle categories. They are included under 'unclassified' which also includes a few examples whose tenor is difficult to categorize, e.g. embarajarla (q.v.). Figures in brackets in the final column refer to examples which are used in two different senses with reference to two different tenors.

(4) cf. e.g. Jespersen : 155-157.

(5) Contrast Bernstein's (1971a : 28, fn.2; and 1971b : 44) claim that the restricted code is lacking in the verbal expression of feelings and of individual qualifications.

Category	No. of Examples	Percentage ⁽⁶⁾	
Pejorative expressions	35	12.5	
Psychological characterisations	31	11.0	(+1)
Crime	31	11.0	
Parts of the body and sex	30	10.5	
Appreciative expressions	22	8.0	(+1)
Alcohol	17	6.0	(+2)
Drugs	14	5.0	(+1)
Clothes	14	5.0	
Personal relations	14	5.0	
General	10	3.5	
Money	10	3.5	
Deceit	9	3.0	(+1)
Police	6	2.0	
Physical actions	5	2.0	
House and family	4	1.5	
Acceptance	3	1.0	
Superlatives	2	0.5	
Augmentatives	2	0.5	(+1)
Speech	2	0.5	
Food	2	0.5	
Music	2	0.5	
Work	2	0.5	
Age	1	0.5	
Medicine	1	0.5	
Travel	1	0.5	
Sport	1	0.5	
Unclassified	11	4.0	
T O T A L	282	99.5	

Fig. 12.

(6) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

followed by expressions referring to parts of the body and sex ⁽⁷⁾, to drinking and other social activities and relationships. The category 'crime' comes very high on the list for a different reason since much of this vocabulary is invented for the purpose of protection. Similarly, the category 'clothes' comes artificially high since it includes no less than seven cant expressions referring to shoes. The 'drugs' category is an intermediate case since this vocabulary serves partly for protection, partly for group solidarity and is partly due to ritual value.

5.1.2 The vehicle

The categories of vehicle also reveal certain interesting general tendencies though these have attracted less attention among writers on the subject than categories of tenor. While the tenor categories are those which are the centres of attention for the individual, in the here and now, vehicle categories are those which are the centres of traditional, collective attention. The vehicle is the speaker's comment on the tenor, his/her way of creating a new vision of the tenor, therefore it is absolutely essential that the feature of the vehicle alluded to should be generally understood ⁽⁸⁾. This need is particularly acute, of course, in the case of value judgements ⁽⁹⁾ (which we have seen in the preceding section to be a large proportion of the corpus), where these must be generally accepted attributes of

(7) I have placed these two categories together since there are so many examples, mainly words for the sexual organs, which fall into both that presenting them separately necessarily gives a distorted picture.

(8) cf. Black : 40, on the 'system of associated commonplaces'. Also Beardsley : 294; Dickerton : 39.

(9) cf. Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan : 309, 313, on the importance of cultural values in the use of insults.

the vehicle and not merely the personal opinion of the speaker. In such cases the choice of vehicle is even more closely culturally determined than in other contexts.

The numerical distribution in the corpus of categories of vehicle is shown in Fig. 13. Here 'unclassified' includes those categories of which there is only one example (except where they provide comparison with tenor categories shown in Fig. 12.), those examples which have no vehicle (e.g. neologisms, backslang, formulae, loan-words and antonomasia ⁽¹⁰⁾), and those examples whose vehicle is unknown (e.g. guayos (q.v.)). The figures in brackets in the final column refer to those examples which fall into two categories simultaneously, e.g. mamar gallo (q.v.) is classified as both 'sport' and 'animals'. It is immediately clear that the general character of the vehicle is quite different from that of the tenor; the majority refer to physical objects, actions or characteristics, i.e. to clear-cut objects or concepts. A very large number are things to which there exist well-established cultural attitudes, e.g. animals, food and plants, and these are largely used in the expression of value judgements (e.g. of the 43 examples which have animal vehicles, 39 are used exclusively to refer to human characteristics and activities ⁽¹¹⁾). This would appear to illustrate the persistence in the collective consciousness of a facet of rural

(10) The last two are mentioned under vehicle in the corpus in order to indicate the origin of the expressions but since they refer to linguistic origin not to a referent, they are excluded here.

(11) cf. Appendix, as well as corpus, for examples.

tradition since many of the plants and animals used as vehicles are not found in the city and attitudes to them are therefore a result of cultural stereo-typing rather than of direct experience (12).

A newer urban culture is also strongly in evidence in the frequent use of artefacts as vehicle but it is interesting to note that these are generally used in the description of objects or physical activities, that is to say they make no recourse to culturally established attitudes.

It is notable that the only category to rank high on the lists of both tenor and vehicle categories is 'parts of the body and sex', this being the one area which is of traditional cultural importance and also of great interest to the individual speaker. As vehicle these expressions are also often used in the expression of value judgements, e.g. iculo (de algo)!(q.v.), jopo (q.v.), verga (v. verga, ser la and verga, valer). Jopo is an interesting example in that it is itself by origin a metaphor but is now so well established that it is used as vehicle.

5.2. Individual cases

Apart from the general tendencies noted in the preceding two sections, many individual cases, of course, also provide interesting

(12) They cannot however be put down to the kind of cultural stereo-typing of exotic animals to be found e.g. in the English 'lion = brave', since with the exception of carallo (q.v.), they all refer to animals to be found on the north coast of Colombia (sometimes exclusively e.g. cachegue (q.v.)).

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Examples</u>	<u>Percentages</u>	(13)
Animals	43	15.0	(+1)
Artefacts	24	8.5	(+1)
Food	22	8.0	(+1)
Physical actions	21	7.5	
Parts of the body and sex	18	6.5	
Plants	16	5.5	(+1)
Physical characteristics	13	4.5	
Gambling	9	3.0	
Sport	8	3.0	
Psychological characteristics	8	3.0	
Travel	4	1.5	(+1)
Money	4	1.5	
Drink (non-alcoholic)	4	1.5	
Music	4	1.5	
Work	4	1.5	
Clothes	4	1.5	
Bureaucracy	3	1.0	
Crime	3	1.0	
Medicine	3	1.0	
Nationality	2	0.5	
House and family	2	0.5	
Police	1	0.5	
Speech	1	0.5	
Alcohol	1	0.5	
Personal relations	1	0.5	
Age	1	0.5	
Superlative	1	0.5	
Unclassified	55	19.5	
T O T A L	<u>282</u>	<u>100.0</u>	

Fig. 13.

(13) Percentages are rounded to the nearest 0.5 percent.

evidence of cultural factors influencing slang formation. These are generally discussed in the corpus. Some of them fall into easily definable groups; e.g. animals used as vehicles for human characteristics, e.g. camaleón (q.v.), mariposo (q.v.), foods used as vehicles for sexual organs, e.g. papaya (q.v.), plátano (q.v.), physical characteristics used as vehicles for psychological characteristics (14), e.g. pálida (q.v.), teso (q.v.).

As well as revealing generalized attitudes to many animals etc., these usages also show which attributes of objects are considered salient, e.g. hardness of some plants (cf. coralibe (q.v.), cujil (q.v.), guayacán (q.v.)), and in two very interesting cases what is considered omnipresent : animalejo (q.v.) and jugaña (q.v.) used in the sense 'thingummyjig'.

(14) cf. Asch (1955 : 29; 1958 : 86).

CHAPTER 6 : SLANG AS AN EXPRESSION OF POPULAR THOUGHT

The study, in the preceding chapters, of the semantic processes at work in slang creation and of the way in which slang is deeply rooted in the cultural tradition of its speakers, leads me now to postulate certain similarities between slang and the expression of primitive thought (1) in such forms as myth and ritual.

6.1. Relations within content

In Section 3.4. we mentioned the fundamental nature of the processes of classification and organization in human thought as a whole and in language in particular (2), and I suggested that this was even more pronounced in metaphor than in other areas of language. Having seen in Chapters 4 and 5 that almost all slang creation, whether metaphoric or not, is based on similar processes and shows a high degree of interdependence with other aspects of culture, I should now like to extend that statement to include all slang. The discussion of these universal mental processes in evidence in slang leads to the question of comparison with other forms of expression of human thought. Structural similarities between language and other forms of social expression have been frequently pointed out by Lévi-Strauss who has made considerable use of the theories of structuralist linguistics (3), stressing in particular the need to

(1) I use 'primitive thought' here to refer to thought which has not been directed by western-style formal education. I do not intend the term to indicate a developmental approach.

(2) cf. also Lévi-Strauss (1972a : 5).

(3) cf. e.g. (1972b), (1972c), (1972d), (1972e), (1972f).

concentrate study on the relations between elements rather than on the nature of the elements themselves (4). Myth he sees as a particular form of language which in some way lies outside the diachronic/synchronic and langue/parole distinctions and which is diametrically opposed to poetry in that it is the content, rather than the form of expression, which is the essential element (5). The interpretation of myth requires a dialectical process whereby the myth is read simultaneously on both diachronic and synchronic axes, in the manner of a musical score (6). Thus, we should study content not form, but within that content the relations between elements rather than the elements themselves; moreover, these relations should be seen in synchronic bundles as well as in diachronic sequence.

Here similarities with the view of slang developed in the preceding chapters are striking. We have seen in Chapter 2 that in the vast majority of cases content is paramount in slang expressions and that only in a very small proportion of cases (those described in Sections 2.1.3. and 2.1.4.) are considerations of form of great importance. However, within the content of these expressions, we have seen clearly in Chapters 3 and 4 that it is the relation between the elements described which is most often the essential point while the exact nature of the objects referred to is of secondary importance, with the result that concentration on those objects can lead to serious

(4) e.g. (1972f : 208).

(5) *ibid.* : 209-210.

(6) *ibid.* : 212ff.

misinterpretation. Furthermore, we have seen that the interpretation of slang involves a continuing process which constantly combines the^C diachronic and the synchronic, competence and performance. It would seem, then, that the interpretation of slang and that of myth necessitate in many ways a similar approach and that similar differences from other forms of linguistic expression are apparent in both.

6.2. The resolution of oppositions

In Lévi-Strauss's interpretation 'mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution' (7), hence the universal importance of mediators (tricksters, monsters, demi-gods, etc.) who occupy intermediate positions between two poles of an opposition, and of figures, especially gods, of an equivocal or contradictory nature. This concept is, of course, closely related to Leach's (1972) theory, mentioned above in Section 3.2.6. of the ritual value assigned to ambiguous objects, which fall between two well-defined categories.

Here again correlations with slang are striking. We have seen that metaphor, which makes up the largest part of slang, is itself ambiguous by nature in that it exists in the centre of many traditional linguistic dichotomies. Moreover, slang frequently describes ambiguous areas of experience, those which cannot easily be described in standard language. In slang, too, the resolution of oppositions is

(7) *ibid.* : 224.

fundamental. If, as I have argued above (Section 3.2.4.), tenor and vehicle are to be understood simultaneously, in continuous interaction, rather than taking such interaction as a finite process whose result is to be studied - a similar notion to that of Lévi-Strauss's 'musical score' interpretation of myth - then in the majority of cases the interpretative process involves the resolution of the opposition between human and animal, human and object or concrete and abstract ⁽⁸⁾ (cf. Sections 3.3.6. - 3.3.11. above), and the slang expression itself is the mediator between the two poles. Thus myth and a large proportion of slang may be seen to serve the same heuristic function.

6.3. The nature/culture opposition

One of the most important oppositions with which myth is concerned is that between nature and culture - one of the most fundamental ambiguities of the human situation and one of the basic notions of social anthropology. Hence the number of mediators who take a form which is part human and part beast, and the importance of certain mediating rituals, e.g. cooking and hunting ⁽⁹⁾. Rosaldo's study of metaphor in Ilongot spells gives evidence of the importance which the use of figurative language may have in the resolution of this opposition. Metaphor, by correlating natural phenomena with aspects of culture, helps to organize nature and make it controllable,

(8) cf. Hayakawa who sees personification as 'a reaction that does not distinguish between the animate and the inanimate.' (123).

(9) cf. e.g. Leach (1972), (1974).

at least on a conceptual level (10).

This clearly, too, is one of the major functions of slang metaphor which in a large number of cases establishes a relationship between elements of nature and elements of culture. All language, it may be argued, serves this purpose; however, slang does so to a much greater extent as it utilizes in many cases a direct (or what is seen in the culture under investigation as direct) relationship between symbol and symbolized as opposed to the arbitrary nature of most linguistic symbols.

6.4. The expression of popular thought

Slang and myth, then, are two forms of language to which a similar approach must be taken emphasizing content rather than form and working outwith the traditional langue/parole and diachronic/synchronic dichotomies. Both involve the resolution of oppositions and are the expression of thinking in terms of relations and functions rather than elements, and in harmony rather than in purely linear terms. There is also an interesting correlation here with the language of the pre-school child as described by Vygotsky (1962). One of the characteristics of this language is the expression of complex thinking (which also persists in adults in some contexts) in which a concept is defined by means of enumeration of the objects to which it applies (11). This is surely a similar phenomenon to that of the 'bundles of relations' of thinking in harmony referred to by

(10) Rosaldo : 178, 194, 200.

(11) 80.

Lévi-Strauss and to the expression in slang of abstract concepts through the juxtaposition of two different elements which exemplify those concepts (cf. Section 4.1.3. above). Another aspect mentioned by Vygotsky is the tendency of the child to deal in functional meaning, in other words the child when asked what a word means will describe not the qualities of the object but the things which can be done with it, or in the case of an abstract concept, its relationship to the child (12). That is to say that as in myth, and in slang, it is not the nature of objects but the relations into which they enter and their relationship with human beings which is the focus of attention.

It would appear, then, that myth, slang and the language of the pre-school child are areas of language united by certain common forms of expression and by similarity in the type of content which they express. I suggest that they possess these common features because they are all, in their own way, an expression of the activity of the human mind which has not been trained into 'objective scientific' thinking by a western-style formal education. Metaphoric thought and expression, which as we have seen is an essential element of the features under discussion, has been described by some psychologists as primitive because it shows a lack of differentiation (13) and by others as advanced because it involves generalization (14). Such

(12) 78. Vygotsky's own example is helpful here : 'Reasonable means when I am hot and don't stand in a draft.'.

(13) e.g. Werner and Kaplan : 867.

(14) e.g. Osgood : 167. Osgood's conclusion that the Navajo use metaphor less than the other cultures taking part in his study is quite unjustified. His results merely indicate that they do not use the same metaphors to the same extent.

arguments, however, miss the point by raising the wrong questions. I would argue that the sort of thought and expression with which we are dealing cannot be compared with scientific thought and standard language in this way.

Firstly, the forms of expression are quite different from those of standard 'objective' language, and, as we have seen, taking them at face value can be most misleading. Secondly, the content of what is being expressed is quite different. Here we are dealing with language focussed on social structures and relations and on relations between human beings and their environment, with no interest in the description of objects for their own sake, outwith their relations with humans. It is not a question of whether these language forms are more or less equipped for objective description but simply that such is not one of their functions, just as it is not their function to keep separate the intellectual and the emotive which are so rigorously divided by scientific thought ⁽¹⁵⁾. I am not suggesting an equivalence between slang and myth. In most of the aspects discussed in this chapter, slang is probably best considered as an intermediate stage between myth and other forms of linguistic expression. Slang does not show harmonic thought or expression on the grand scale of myth; nor is slang devoted to the resolution of oppositions to the same extent as myth; it has many other functions as we shall see in the next chapter. Nonetheless, the similarities between the two are most striking, and are lent further support by the fact that slang is largely

(15) cf. Gairaud (1975 : 11); Leach (1974 : 119); Lévi-Strauss (1972f : 230).

created and used by those members of urban society who have least formal education. This mythic character may in fact be one of the reasons for the strength and vitality of slang in urban society where myth as such is in retreat (16).

(16) though it may of course take on many different forms.
Cf. Barthes, Lévi-Strauss (1972f : 209).

CHAPTER 7 : THE FUNCTIONS OF SLANG

The functions of slang, as we shall see are many and varied, both linguistic and extra-linguistic. Questions as to why people use slang and what effects are achieved by such usage, cannot be given any definitive answer without the use of detailed subjective reaction tests and more closely controlled ways of analyzing the extra-linguistic context than are at present available. Notwithstanding such methodological limitations, it is possible to deduce a considerable amount about the functions of slang from the very nature of the expressions employed and the contexts in which they are used. The following are the main functions which emerge from analysis of the material presented in the corpus. For the sake of clarity I shall deal with each one separately but many expressions, of course, combine two or more functions.

7.1. The referential function

We have seen above (Section 3.2.6.) that slang metaphor is frequently used to describe areas of experience which are difficult or impossible to describe in terms of standard language ⁽¹⁾. Instances of this in the corpus are, e.g. mamar gallo (q.v.), tenaz (q.v.) verraco (q.v.), all of which (and many others of course) would require considerable circumlocution if they were to be paraphrased in standard language. Further, slang metaphor may provide expression for concepts the standard terms for which we do not handle easily; this is particularly

(1) For further references on this characteristic of metaphor, cf. Bendezi Neyra : 29, Hawkes : 63, Henle : 173, Mooij : 9. Cf. also Ogden who proposes wide use of metaphor in order to make the most of the limited vocabulary of Basic English (44-46).

true of those cases in which concrete expression is given to abstract concepts (cf. Section 4.2.3. above), e.g. caursta (q.v.), timbrarse (q.v.). Nor is it only metaphorical slang that serves these purposes; extensions of meaning may also serve as vocabulary stretchers in this way, e.g. imeto! (q.v.), viaje (q.v.), as of course may loan words, e.g. friquearse (q.v.), and neologisms, e.g. acelere (q.v.). Two more aspects of the referential function were discussed in the previous chapters: namely the resolution of oppositions, as for example in animalization, objectification and concretization, and the description of objects in terms of how they relate to human beings, e.g. alcahuetas (q.v.), fresca (q.v.), which describe objects in terms of their role in a human relationship and their effect on their possessor respectively. Neither of these functions is easily fulfilled in standard language which tends to establish sharply distinguished categories.

7.2. The foregrounding function

I use foregrounding in the sense used by Prague School writers especially Havránek and Mukarovský^V, e.g. 'Objectively speaking: automatisations schematises an event; foregrounding means the violation of the scheme.' (2) As a result, the foregrounded act is conscious and draws attention to itself.

Two kinds of foregrounding are distinguishable in slang. One is the foregrounding of certain features of objects or concepts through the

(2) Mukarovský^V : 19. Cf. also Garvin's definition of the same concept in his Introduction '(Foregrounding involves a) stimulus not culturally expected in a social setting and hence capable of provoking special attention, ' (viii).

use of metaphor (3), as mentioned above in Sections 3.2.3. and 3.2.4., e.g. coco (q.v.) foregrounds the physical form of the head rather than its function while caminantes (q.v.) foregrounds the function of shoes, not their form. This is a major element in the direct, precise style so characteristic of slang since it pinpoints the focus of attention without the need for lengthy qualifying statements.

The second type of foregrounding is found in all slang whether metaphor or not and is the foregrounding within the utterance of the slang word or phrase which draws attention through its use in unusual context, its unexpectedness in the context in which it occurs. This unexpectedness apart from focussing the attention of the hearer on the slang word or phrase, also achieves great effect through a process of 'making strange' (4), that is to say causing fresh awareness of a familiar phenomenon through presenting it in a new light. An interesting correlation can be drawn here with information theory according to which 'signal-information content is inversely proportionate to probability of occurrence' (5). Hence, slang expressions, due to their low probability in the context have greater meaning potential than would the usual word or phrase.

7.3. The personalizing function

We have seen above that slang deals with objects not in themselves, but as they relate to human beings. In fact, one of the major functions of all slang is to make its subject-matter relate directly to the experience of speaker and hearer, thereby making it more vivid, more easily

(3) cf. references given in f. (17), Chapter 3.

(4) cf. Chomsky (1968 : 21). Also Sechrist : 439.

(5) Lyons (1977 : 42). Cf. also Jakobson (1960) and (1966 : 363).

assimilated and more productive of emotional effect. Several devices are used for this purpose. One is the widespread use of concretization discussed in Chapter 4, whereby an abstract concept is given personal relevance and hence greater impact through expression in concrete terms which may have the power to evoke a direct emotional response ⁽⁶⁾, e.g. chinche (q.v.), impotable (q.v.). We have also seen, in Chapter 5, how slang almost invariably refers to aspects of the speaker/hearer's own culture; concepts, therefore, which are well-known to him/her, e.g. billete de a peso (q.v.), chicharra (q.v.). Other favoured devices are the use of local reference, e.g. así le vas a decir a Bocio (q.v.), bollo limpio (q.v.), and references to recent events or topics of conversation, e.g. ¡chanfle! (q.v.), med (q.v.) ⁽⁷⁾. All these devices serve to make conversation of direct personal interest to the hearer.

7.4. The playful function

Priestley has said : 'Standard English is like standard anything else - poor tasteless stuff,' ⁽⁸⁾ and an important function of slang is to break away from the monotony of the standard ⁽⁹⁾ and get fun out of playing with language. This is most evident in those examples which are based on phonetic relations (cf. Section 2.1.4. above), e.g. boquio (q.v.), hermoso como el oso (q.v.), and on syntagmatic relations (cf. Section 2.1.3. above), e.g. mico (q.v.), rana (q.v.). However,

(6) cf. Partridge : 6. One is reminded of Proust's famous madeleine episode in which a taste evokes the most vivid memories of childhood (55ff : 223).

(7) cf. Sechrist : 442.
(8) 290

(9) cf. Bosses : 9, Hawkes : 57, Jespersen : 149-152, Partridge : 6. Indeed, Jespersen considers this to be the definitive aspect of slang.

there is also a strong element of play in many rather humorous comparisons, e.g. caramelo fácil (q.v.), cocacolo (q.v.), in the use of irony, e.g. agropecuario (q.v.) and in expressions which make possible a great deal of punning, e.g. cigarrón (q.v.), comerse (a alguien)(q.v.) (and indeed all those expressions with sexual tenor and food vehicle).

7.5. The euphemistic function

I do not consider euphemism to be among the most important functions of slang, but it is clearly in evidence in some expressions (10).

These fall into three categories. The first includes those expressions which serve as a protection, which are used because the usual word would be revealing in some undesirable way (11), e.g. hierba (q.v.) (and most drug vocabulary), modelar (q.v.). The second makes light of a serious or frightening topic, e.g. pelar el guineo (v. guineo, pelar el), estar en la olla (v. olla, estar en la). It was noted above (Section 5.1.1.) that death is the subject of only one expression in the corpus, and in general this type of euphemism is remarkable by its absence from the material presented here. The other category of euphemism is that which seeks to avoid the embarrassment which might ensue from the use of the usual word for something considered taboo, e.g. ¡miercoles! (q.v.), vergüenza (q.v.). This category, again, is not strongly in evidence in the Barranquilla material where most of the slang expressions for sexual organs or activities, for example, are much more playful than euphemistic. In general, it would be fair

(10) cf. Partridge : 6.

(11) This is of course the origin of a great deal of cant (cf. Section 2.3.2. above) but I am concerned here with those expressions which are euphemistic in their current usage, not merely in origin.

to say that euphemism, though present, is not an important element in the slang of Barranquilla which is strongly characterized by its directness.

7.6. The sociolinguistic function

I have left this function until last not because I consider it the least important, but because it is the one whose description is most affected by the lack of data from systematic subjective reaction tests. Nonetheless, unelicited subjective reactions to the material presented here combined with the nature of the contexts in which each expression was (and was not) heard are sufficient for me to suggest a strong element of group identification in slang usage (12). Such groups may be of varying size and generality, from a fairly small group, e.g. use of underworld or drug terminology identifies the speaker as a member of those groups, to a whole social class - many of the corpus expressions identify their user as a member of the lower class (13). Moreover, some of these expressions involve references which make them explicitly class-specific, e.g. así le vas a decir al coime (q.v.), bajarse del bus (q.v.). It seems further that this function of group identification is entirely conscious - most speakers are aware that in many circumstances such uses would be stigmatized - and may even constitute a conscious rebellion against the pre-eminence of the standard which is seen as embodying the values of the dominant elite (14).

(12) cf. Partridge : 6, and Chatman for whom style 'serves to identify the speaker as such and such a person' (133).

(13) cf. Introduction, Section 1.1.5. and Section 9.2. below.

(14) cf. Bendeaf Neyra : 28, Labov (1974 : 250-251), Major : 9-10.

CHAPTER 8 : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SLANG AND POETRY

8.1. Function within discourse

Hayakawa has said : 'Adequate recognition has never been given to the fact that what we call slang and vulgarism works on exactly the same principles as poetry does. (...) the same love of seeing things in scientifically outrageous but emotionally expressive language.' (1) Certainly there can be no doubt that there exist many similarities between slang and poetic usage, especially in techniques as we shall see. However, slang is not poetry and the differences are perhaps as important as the similarities. First and foremost slang occupies a quite different place in discourse from that of poetry. In Jakobson's words: 'poeticalness is not a supplementation of discourse with rhetorical adornment but a total re-evaluation of the discourse and of all its components whatsoever,' (2) and certainly a poem is a unified piece of discourse in which the reader must be prepared to give any part a poetical interpretation and must suspend many of the rules applicable to 'normal' language. Slang is quite different in this respect in that it is generally dotted about in the midst of ordinary language; the hearer has no prior warning of its occurrence (3) and it is often this contrast between the slang word or phrase and its immediate context which makes it so effective. Keeping in mind this very basic difference, let us now look at some of the more detailed similarities and differences.

(1) 123. McCloskey : 232, makes a similar point.

(2) (1966 : 377)

(3) The general tenor of the conversation is of course usually a warning that slang is probable but there is no indication of at which precise point it is to be expected.

8.2. Common features

Slang and poetry share, of course, their difference from ordinary language, and in both cases this difference is based on some type of deviance from the rules of ordinary language, either syntactic, semantic or pragmatic. I shall be concerned here with the last two since syntactic deviance is very rare in slang (the only examples in the corpus are one or two instances of a change of part of speech, e.g. pálida (q.v.) used as a noun, or a change of gender, e.g. mariposo (q.v.)) and is generally of much lesser importance in poetry than are semantic and pragmatic deviance ⁽⁴⁾. As we have seen above in Section 2.3.1. this type of deviance is always based on unusual predication; this is true for poetry just as it is for slang. Turning to more precise techniques, we find that the majority of traditional literary tropes are to be found in slang, e.g. irony (e.g. agropecuario (q.v.)), hyperbole (e.g. volar el bloque (v. bloque, volar el)), metaphor (see below Section 8.4.), simile (e.g. legal como Pascual (q.v.)), synaesthesia (e.g. sabroso (q.v.)). Furthermore, slang and poetry both operate a fusion between the intellectual and emotive planes in contrast to the strict categorization of ordinary language.

8.3. Major differences

The aesthetic function, as defined by writers of the Prague school ⁽⁵⁾

- (4) On the question of syntax it is interesting to note that in both slang and poetry restrictions on syntax seem to enhance creativity. On this point cf. Rosaldo : 261.
- (5) e.g. Garvin describes this function as when language 'is responded to for what it is, and not for what it is for.' (vii). Cf. also Jakobson (1966 : 356).

is very typical of perhaps almost all poetry. I shall take all my examples of poetic usage from one poem, 'la guitarra tenía un sonido ácido . . .' by Isabel Fraire (6). In general the poem gives greater attention to content than form but nonetheless form is important throughout, particularly with regard to rhythm,

e.g. : 'sino un perderse
 agua en el agua
 neblina en la neblina
 muerte en la muerte'

In slang, by contrast, form is only a consideration in a very few cases -- by and large content is the vital factor (cf. Section 6.1. above).

Poetic use of deviance in general strives above all for originality, for the use of images which the reader has never encountered before,

e.g. : 'yo inmóvil
 inclinada sobre el brocal del pozo de tus ojos
 a punto de caer'

whereas slang relies heavily on usage which while differing strongly from the standard, is repeated and which has achieved a certain degree of lexicalization. Moreover poetry, except in a few cases where the reader is well-acquainted with certain imagery used habitually by the poet, depends entirely on the linguistic context whereas slang as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 5, constantly works with a combination of the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts (7).

There is also a sharp contrast between slang and poetry as regards the kind of references made, the type of images used. Some poetry,

(6) 72-74

(7) On differing degrees of reliance on extralinguistic context, cf. McIntosh : 91.

of course, makes much use of local references; however, there is a strong tendency in a great deal of poetry to refer to the exotic,

e.g. : '¿qué oculto secreto informe y agrio se retrata
en las pupilas opacas de la esfinge?'

and again :

'así alicia

cayendo azorada en las entrañas tibias y oscuras
de su sueño'.

By contrast, slang, as we have seen in Section 7.3. above, uses almost entirely local references. Indeed, in the corpus, only one example could be classified as exotic (camello (q.v.)).

One of the effects of this use in poetry of exotic references and highly original images, combined with the dislocation from extralinguistic context, is a greater 'making strange', taking full advantage of the effects of defeated anticipation.

e.g. : ' (por un azar cualquiera

se abre en el momento

la puerta al

infinito

así alicia

cayendo azorada en las entrañas tibias y oscuras

de su sueño

se da de golpe con el universo)'. .

In this section, Fraire skilfully achieves maximum effect by the use of the slightly hackneyed image of the opening door to lull the reader, followed by two surprises : Alice falls into the entrañas

not of the earth but of her dream and rather than entering infinity as might have been expected 'se da de golpe con el universo' (8). We have seen that 'making strange' is also one of the functions of slang (Section 7.2. above). Nonetheless the fact that slang employs repeatedly used images inevitably reduces the strangeness and indeed a poetic degree of strangeness would be dysfunctional in slang since slang also aims to make discourse of direct personal relevance to the hearer (cf. Section 7.3. above). Slang must therefore use a strictly controlled amount of strangeness.

The question of linguistic awareness is interesting. The poet clearly makes highly conscious and deliberate use of the devices discussed here; it seems probable that the slang creator and user is much less conscious of the linguistic devices s/he is using. However, certain usages, particularly those based on form (Sections 2.1.3. and 2.1.4.) and such expressions as e.g. mejor dicho chicho (v. mejor dicho) indicating awareness of the pause-filling nature of the phrase, would seem to point to a much greater degree of linguistic awareness than might at first be expected and the question obviously requires detailed investigation.

8.4. The use of metaphor

We have seen (Section 2.2., Fig. 1 above) that metaphor is by far the most important mechanism of slang production; it is also one of the most favoured devices of poets. The basic processes of metaphoric interaction and interpretation as described in Chapter 3 are operative

(8) cf. Jakobson (1966 : 363) : 'the human sense of gratification for the unexpected arising from expectedness'. Cf. also Riffaterre p.313.

in both slang and poetry but there are some noteworthy differences in emphasis.

Slang metaphor could perhaps be reasonably described as a combination of foregrounding and presupposition. Metaphoric effect derives to a considerable extent from the foregrounding of the motivating features, those common to tenor and vehicle, but, as we have seen in Chapter 5, slang metaphor also relies heavily on the presupposition of knowledge of a certain set of precise cultural values on the part of the hearer. Poetic metaphor is not, of course, entirely free from cultural constraint and if it wanders too far from cultural norms it may become extremely difficult to interpret. Within this general limitation however poets tend to employ tenor/vehicle comparisons based on personal rather than collective evaluations.

e.g. : ' mi piel era una nube incoherente'

or ' el momento era una paloma herida'

are not based on any cultural attribution of qualities to skin, clouds, moments or doves. Contrast the slang usage of e.g. chivo (q.v.) in Barranquilla Spanish and goat in English (as in to act the goat) where correct interpretation depends on knowledge of the cultural background.

Closely related to this is the fact that poetic metaphor tends to aim for breadth rather than precision of meaning; that is to say that the poet seeks to inspire many different personal interpretations from different readers and to set the reader thinking,

e.g. : 'tus ojos me miraban desfondados

abriendo horizontes infinitos

de vacíos misteriosos'

is intentionally vague so that each reader may fill in the details. Slang metaphor, however, seeks not for the maximum range of meaning but for precision, where the speaker may be reasonably sure that s/he and the hearer put the same interpretation on the metaphor.

Moreover, poetry shows different preferences among the secondary effects of metaphor from those of slang. We have seen (Section 3.3.11., Figs. 8 and 9) that slang makes considerable use of concretization, objectification and animalization but shows very little personification. In poetry, of course, personification is one of the classic techniques and widely used,

e.g. : '¿qué inesperada vida nace de las entrañas de la
 palabra muerte?'

8.5. Slang, poetry, standard language and myth

We have just seen that there exist many similarities between slang and poetry as opposed to standard language. However, we have also established similarities between slang and myth and said that myth comes at the opposite end of the language scale from poetry (Section 6.1. above). Supposing then that myth and poetry are to be seen as diverging from standard language in opposite directions, does slang follow poetry or myth?

Looking again at the points of comparison between slang and poetry just discussed and trying to establish some kind of a scale for each feature, we can see that, on some, slang will be placed between poetry and standard language and, on others, at the other end, between standard language and myth.

In the exploitation of the effects of deviance and foregrounding through the use of unusual predication especially in the form of tropes, slang appears to fall between poetry, which uses them to a greater extent, and standard language, which does not use them at all (since the tropes of standard language are those which have become lexicalized and no longer create the effects of foregrounding, etc.).

In the relative unimportance of the aesthetic function, the precision of meaning, the expression of abstract ideas in concrete terms, the exploitation of local references and the presupposition of cultural knowledge with consequent dependence on extra-linguistic context, slang falls between standard language and myth, at the opposite end of the scale from poetry.

It is interesting to note that most of the factors which relate slang closely to poetry are matters of form, while those which bring it near to myth are matters of content, an observation entirely in harmony with the fact that poetry accentuates form and myth content. In the light of this, it may be reasonable to suggest that to a certain extent slang fulfills, for the urban working class, some of the functions characteristic of poetry and myth in other social groups.

CHAPTER 9 : SLANG IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS AND EDUCATION

9.1. Lower and middle classes

I use the term lower class to include approximately groups 0-5 on the scale used by Labov ⁽¹⁾, that is to say his working class and lower class, the latter including drop-outs, tramps, drug-addicts, beggars and other such marginal groups. Middle class I use to include approximately groups 6-9, that is lower middle class and upper middle class. I have reduced the stratification to two classes partly because of the nature of class stratification in Barranquilla where the break between the working class and the lower middle class is extremely marked and makes the classification of anonymous informants reasonably reliable whereas it would not be as between lower and working class or between lower middle class and upper middle class. This simplification of the class stratification is also motivated by the nature of the material which does not lend itself to quantitative analysis of detailed stratification in the way that phonological variables do ⁽²⁾, since it is of low frequency, is susceptible to conscious suppression and is not susceptible to controlled elicitation.

Informants are classified as lower class or middle class according to income (of the family), occupation (of the breadwinner) and education (of the breadwinner) ⁽³⁾. Anonymous informants are classified on the basis of occupation (where this is evident, e.g. bus drivers, street pedlars, etc.), dress (a remarkably reliable class indicator in

(1) cf. e.g. (1973d) pp. 112-113.

(2) cf. Labov (1964) p. 166, etc.

(3) The classification is based on data from Bula and Mendoza.

Barranquilla) and context in which the observation was made (e.g. shops and bars in lower class areas, etc.).

Entries in the corpus are classified as lower class when they were heard repeatedly from lower class speakers and never from middle class speakers (or only accompanied by reactions of surprise as described below). The reverse condition applies for classification as middle class. 'Mainly lower class' indicates that the expression was heard frequently from lower class speakers and only on rare occasions from middle class speakers. There is, of course, an element of chance involved in this assessment in that it is possible, for instance, that some expressions classified here as lower class are used by middle class speakers without their having been heard from such speakers in the course of this investigation. However, no expression has been included which was not heard on a number of occasions, and material was collected continuously over a period of a year, so it seems fair to say that those classified as lower class are at least typical of the lower class and rare in the extreme among middle class speakers.

9.2. Group identification

As we have seen above (Section 4.1.), a considerable proportion of the corpus material is created and used predominantly by the working class. It also seems that use of such expressions is a conscious marker of membership of the lower class (cf. Section 7.6. above and references therein cited). This view is further reinforced by reactions to such expressions should they occur out of context. For example, on one occasion, when informant Il4, in conversation with a group of middle class friends used the expression poner la canal

(v. canal, poner la), the usage provoked general laughter and one hearer commented (aside) : 'Ella es increíble, sabe usar ese vocabulario plebe sin que le quede feo.' Another indication that such expressions are conscious indicators of class membership is that they are used a great deal by certain radio personalities who strive to attract and identify themselves with a lower class audience (4). Similarly slang usage may serve as an indicator of membership of certain more restricted social groups such as drug-takers (e.g. manta (q.v.), punto rojo (q.v.)), students (e.g. boquio (q.v.), coralibe (q.v.)), or the underworld (e.g. raciente (q.v.), trabajador de sueño (q.v.)), or as an indicator of sympathy with or a desire to associate oneself with such groups (5).

Furthermore, as may be seen from the dictionary references (or lack of them) in the corpus (6), many expressions discussed here are used exclusively on the north coast of Colombia and therefore serve as markers of regional as well as social origin.

9.3. Contextual and stylistic variation

Due to the aforementioned obstacles to the quantitative analysis of lexical phenomena, it has not as yet been possible to carry out systematic studies of contextual and stylistic variation in this field. However, some evidence on this matter is available.

(4) cf. Appendix.

(5) There exist, of course, numerous trade and professional jargons characteristic of a very restricted social group, but my interest here is only in such expressions as have gained acceptance among at least some members of the public at large.

(6) and is confirmed by personal experience in Bogotá and Cali.

Informant 11, an unusually fluent and willing speaker, is an interesting case. In the first conversation recorded with him there is a remarkable switch from a formal style at the beginning, marked by use of Ud., formal syntax, long sentences, some semi-learned vocabulary and seriousness of tone, to a casual style in the latter part of the conversation marked by use of tu, informal style, short sentences interspersed with interjections and much joking and laughter. This casual style also characterized later conversations with him. The occurrence of slang vocabulary in the early formal section is nil; it gradually increases as the conversation continues until in the casual final section it reaches a high level, which was maintained during subsequent conversations.

Other lower class informants showed a similar though less extreme stylistic variation. In a formal style which most adopted when being recorded slang occurrence is very low, while it would generally rise steeply in unrecorded informal conversation.

Middle class stylistic and contextual variation is also striking in those cases where it was possible to observe informants in a variety of situations. For example, informants I6 and I7 when lecturing, or informants I9 and I10 when conducting an interview, although apparently using a fairly informal style ⁽⁷⁾, did not employ slang vocabulary as they habitually did in truly casual speech among friends ⁽⁸⁾.

(7) Joos's 'consultative' style (ch. 111), Labov's 'Style B' (1978c : 79-80).

(8) Joos also considers slang one of the defining features of casual style (23).

There is clear evidence then that among both lower and middle classes slang is a feature of casual speech and not of formal speech. Answers to the question whether the range of contexts to be defined as 'casual' and 'formal' varies significantly between classes must await the development of techniques for analyzing extralinguistic variables and techniques of lexical elicitation.

9.4. Slang and education

We have seen above (Section 7.1.) that one of the most important functions of slang is as a vocabulary stretcher -- a means for bringing a greater range of experience within the scope of our limited vocabulary. It seems not unreasonable to suppose then that the more limited the vocabulary of a group, the greater will be their tendency to develop an extensive slang usage thereof. Moreover, since slang is frequently used to give concrete expression to abstract concepts (cf. Section 4.2.3.) it seems likely that those groups who do not control an extensive abstract terminology will make greater use of this type of speech.

If we assume that education, and the levels of literacy which go with it ⁽⁹⁾, is one of the major factors in the development of vocabulary, and the determining factor in the development of abstract terminology, then the above suggestion is verified. If we look at the figures for educational levels in Rebolo, the lower class sector of

(9) For comment on reading material cf. Appendix.

Barranquilla where most of the lower class informants (and anonymous informants) live, we find that of the population over five years of age 51.84 percent have only primary education and 20.64 percent have no education at all (10). We have seen that a large part of slang vocabulary is created by the lower class and used more by them than by the middle class; it can therefore be said that the greatest inventors and users of slang are people with little or no formal education and a consequently restricted vocabulary. This notion is further supported by the similarities which were established in Chapter 6 between slang and other forms of linguistic expression which are characterized by independence of formal education.

The question whether habitual use of slang rather than more formal or abstract vocabulary has any effect on the individual's prospects for success in formal education is much more difficult to answer. As we have seen in Chapter 4, theories which claim that the capacity of lower class children for forming cognitive structures is adversely affected by the type of language they speak, are not supported by the evidence; on the contrary, all the evidence suggests that lower class language is as well adapted to the formation of such structures as middle class language.

However, it does seem probable that such class language differences may affect communication between the lower class child and the teacher (11)

(10) Bula and Mendoza : 140. The same authors inform me that there is no evidence to suggest that these figures differ widely from those for other lower class sectors of the city.

(11) cf. Barnes for some good examples of a break-down in teacher-pupil communication due to the use of complex or abstract language on the part of the teacher.

who is generally middle class. This may have serious consequences in alienating the child from the school activity and lowering the teacher's expectations of him/her, which have been shown to have great influence on the child's performance (12). There is therefore an urgent need for some form of linguistic training for teachers so that they may cope with the difference between their own speech and that of their lower class pupils without jumping to any false conclusions about the cognitive capacities of the latter.

(12) cf. Labov (1977d : 230).

CHAPTER 10 : THE CORPUS

10.1. A note on presentation

Each entry in the corpus takes the same form. The word or phrase to be analyzed appears at the head of the entry immediately followed by its slang meaning rendered into English; this is generally in the form of a description in standard English followed by the English slang equivalent where there is one. Then follows a list of derivative forms, if any, and, below that, quotations from any relevant entries in the dictionaries and reference books consulted. The Real Academia Española, Alonso, Santamaría and Sundheim, which provide comparison with the standard and with earlier Barranquilla usage (cf. Sections 1.2.1. and 1.2.2. above) are mentioned whenever they give an entry for the expression under consideration. The comment 'no fig.' indicates that they recognize the word or phrase but do not give any figurative sense for it; 'no related sense' indicates that they do give a figurative sense or senses but none related to the sense under discussion. No entry in DRAE or Alonso, of course, infers that these sources do not recognize the existence of the expression, while no entry in Santamaría or Sundheim merely that they do not recognize them as used in any special sense in America or on the north coast of Colombia respectively. Other sources are referred to only where they give a sense related to the Barranquilla slang sense, and are presented in the order given in the list of abbreviations, i.e. grouped according to the country to which they refer. All relevant Colombian references are mentioned; for other countries if more than one writer gives the same sense only the first is mentioned. References to geographical distribution are placed outside the inverted commas for countries.

inside them for regions.

After these references, an example of Barranquilla usage is given; one example for each sense discussed ⁽¹⁾ and one for each derivative form mentioned. Letters and numbers after the examples refer to informants and other sources listed below (Section 10.3.). In some examples, I have attempted to represent a very typical Barranquilla intonation pattern involving a very heavy stress on the /u/ of un and una by doubling or trebling the vowel, e.g. me da uun dolor (v. chiquito, el).

Following the example is an analysis of the semantic processes involved in the slang use of the expression (cf. Chapters 2 and 3 above) and of any secondary effects thereof (cf. Chapters 3 and 4). Any local or group-specific aspects of the reference (cf. Chapter 7) are mentioned next, followed by a class categorization which refers to the general distribution of the usage (cf. Chapter 9) not to the example in the entry, (the two generally coincide but not always).

The classification of tenor and vehicle (cf. Chapter 5) follows, and then any further comment such as, for example, comparison with expressions used in other areas. Comparative forms given at the end of each entry, except where otherwise stated, refer to other entries in the corpus which are used in the same sense.

Entries are alphabetized by head word. Phrases including both noun and verb appear under the noun, e.g. muela, dar, except in the case

(1) In a few cases I have given more than one example for a single sense, where I have felt this to be necessary for clarification of the meaning.

of invariable formulae which appear in their accustomed order,
e.g. mamar gallo.

10. 2. List of abbreviations

a) Dictionaries and reference books (for full details see Bibliography)

DRAE	- Real Academia Española	Ca	- Calcaño
A	- Alonso	H	- Hildebrandt
Su	- Sundheim	P	- Pino
S	- Santamaría	BN	- Bendeñú Neyra
Cu	- Cuervo	BA	- Bonilla Amado
DF	- Di Filippo	Gu	- Guarnieri
FLI	- Flórez (1953)	Te	- Terrera
FLII	- Flórez (1957)	L	- Lomas
FLIII	- Flórez (1969)	Tr	- Trejo
FLIV	- Flórez (1975)	M	- Malaret
Bol	- Bolaños	Ba	- Barker
Gon	- González	O	- Ornstein
W	- Wagner	Co	- Corominas
LR	- León Rey	Bei	- Beinhauer
GI	- Gómez de Ivashevsky	Bes	- Besses
Al	- Alvarado	Ce	- Cela

b) Place names

A	- Antioquia	Ast	- Asturias
Am	- América	Bog	- Bogotá
Bol	- Bolivia	Ant	- Antillas

Arag.	-	Aragón
Cald.	-	Caldas
Col.	-	Colombia
Cund.	-	Cundinamarca
Guat.	-	Guatemala
Mex.	-	México
Pan.	-	Panamá
R. Pl.	-	Río de la Plata
S. Dgo.	-	Santo Domingo
Ven.	-	Venezuela

Arg.	-	Argentina
C. Am.	-	Centro América
C. R.	-	Costa Rica
Ecuad.	-	Ecuador
Hond.	-	Honduras
Nav.	-	Navarra
P. R.	-	Puerto Rico
S. Am.	-	Sur América
Urug.	-	Uruguay

c) General

abbrv.	-	abbreviation
adv.	-	adverb
adj.	-	adjective
ant.	-	antonym
barb.	-	barbarismo
camp.	-	campesino
derivs.	-	derivatives
despect.	-	despectivo
dfe.	-	dícese
dimin.	-	diminutive/o
expr.	-	expresión
fam.	-	familiar
fem.	-	feminine
fest.	-	festivo
fig.	-	figurative/o
form.	-	formula
fr.	-	frase
germ.	-	germania

interj.	-	interjection
lunf.	-	lunfardo
m/masc.	-	masculine/o
n.	-	noun
pl.	-	plural
pop.	-	popular
refl.	-	reflexive
syn.	-	synonym
u.	-	úsase
u.m.c.	-	úsase más como
u.t.	-	úsase también
u.t.c.	-	úsase también como
u.t.c.r.	-	úsase también como reflexivo
v.	-	verb
voc.	-	vocative
vulg.	-	vulgar

10.3. List of sources of examples

1. Informants

Except where otherwise stated informants were born in Barranquilla and have lived all their lives there. Where profession or educational level is not mentioned, it is unknown. Ages refer to the time when the material was being collected: late 1976, early 1977. Where only approximate age is known this is indicated by (?) after the age given. Relationships with the underworld or drugs scene are mentioned only where appropriate.

I1 - male, age 30, lower class, unemployed, unfinished secondary education, slightly involved with the underworld (has served prison sentences) and heavily involved with the drugs scene.

I2 - male, age 40 (?), lower class, shop-keeper, primary education, born in department of Magdalena, resident in Barranquilla since 1956.

I3 - male, age 22, lower class (?), secondary education.

I4 - male, age 23 (?), lower class, student.

I5 - male, age 40 (?), middle class, university lecturer.

I6 - female, age 36, middle class, university lecturer, marihuana smoker, 1967-73 spent in U.S.

I7 -- male, age 34, middle class, university lecturer, marihuana smoker, born in Cartagena, resident in Barranquilla since 1966.

I8 -- male, age 25, middle class, student, born in Bogotá, resident in Barranquilla since 1973.

I9 -- male, age 23, middle class, journalist, unfinished university education, born in interior, resident in Barranquilla since 1965.

II0 -- female, age 33, middle class, journalist, university education.

II1 -- male, age 27 (?), middle class, artist, university education, marihuana smoker, born in Cartagena, resident in Barranquilla since 1970 (?).

II2 -- male, age 30 (?), middle class, artist, university education.

II3 -- female, age 22 (?), middle class, shop-keeper and student.

II4 -- female, age 25, middle class, journalist, secondary education.

II5 -- male, age 35 (?), middle class, lawyer, university education.

II6 -- male, age 12 (?), lower class, schoolboy.

II7 -- male, age 26, middle class, architect, university education.

II8 -- female, age 30, middle class, university lecturer, resident in Bogotá since 1972 (?).

I119 - female, age 4, middle class.

I120 - male, age 25, lower class, student.

I121 - male, age 22, lower class, student, marihuana smoker.

I122 - male, age 22, lower class, student.

I123 - male, age 35 (?), middle class, journalist, university education.

2. Anonymous informants

Reference here is to categories not individuals (cf. Section 1.3.1. above); all ages are approximate.

An1 - female, under 30, lower class.

An2 - female, 30-50, lower class.

An3 - female, over 50, lower class.

An4 - male, under 30, lower class.

An5 - male, 30-50, lower class.

An6 - male, over 50, lower class.

An7 - male, 30-50, middle class.

3. Mass media

M1 -- El Heraldó, Barranquilla

M2 -- Diario del Caribe, Barranquilla

M3 -- "Sábado Violento", Emisoras Unidas, Barranquilla (radio programme)

M4 -- "La patillalera", song (2).

M5 -- "El patillero", song written by Roberto Solano.

4. The author

S1 -- said by the author (in conversation with informants).

S2 -- example provided by the author (where informants' actual words are not available).

(2) I have been unable to ascertain the identity of the writer.

ACELERE, EL

Hurry, inability to relax and take things easy.

Derivs: none

e.g. "Ahí permanezco hasta que termine la cosa, no hay que ir
pallá, pacá, porque ese es el acelere, sabes que entra
a la persona."

(11)

Neologism, based on the verb acelerar, referring originally to
the restlessness caused by the increased metabolic rate induced by
certain drugs.

Extension of meaning, now used more generally to refer to any undue
urgency or restlessness.

Mainly drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. in form, achante, el (v. achantarse); agite, el

ACHANTARSE

(1) To sit down

(2) To be tired or depressed, especially in a situation where liveliness would be expected, e.g. at a party

Derivs : n. el achante - tiredness, depression

DRAE : "apabullarse, aguantarse, esconderse. fam. conformarse."

A : as DRAE. and, Cuba, P.R. "deprimir el ánimo".

S : as A.

DF : "(Costa) Quedarse arrellenado en un lugar, con ánimo de no seguir adelante; sentarse o echarse con voluntad de no proseguir por lo pronto."

e.g. (1) "Vamos a achantarnos." (14)

(2) "Pero, ¿qué pasó con esta fiesta? Como que todo el mundo se achantó." (16)

Extension of meaning in its first sense and metaphorical in its second, the metaphor being based on the physical appearance of one who is tired or depressed.

Foregrounding of the physical aspect of an abstract mental state.

Middle and lower classes,

Tenor : (1) physical action

(2) psychological characterisation

Vehicle : (1) physical action

(2) physical characterisation

el achante, of. in form, accelere, el; axite, el

AGITE, EL

(1) Trouble, nuisance

(2) Excessive insistence on a certain point

Derivs : none

e.g. (1) "¿Yene, qué fue el agite en la tienda anoche?" (An4)

(2) "El anda siempre con el agite de meterse algo." (I6)

Metaphorical neologism, based on the verb agitar. The second sense is perhaps related to the element of repetition involved in the actions of waving and shaking, and is therefore a functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of a mental state through expression in terms of a physical action.

Mainly lower classes and middle class youth.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : physical action

cf. in form, acelere, el; achante, el (v. achantarse)

AGROPECUARIO, EL

Country bumpkin

Derivs : none

DRAE : "relativo o concernante a la ganadería y la agricultura".

A : as DRAE.

S : as DRAE.

e.g. "A mí no me interesa esa gente - puros agropecuarios." (An4 (student))

Restriction of meaning, involving irony, achieved by the use of a technical, bureaucratic term to describe an eminently non-technical person.

Used mainly among students with reference to fellow-students who come from rural areas.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : bureaucracy

The proliferation of such terms is almost certainly a result of the high rate of urban migration and the inevitable intergroup tensions caused by it.

cf. coralibe, el; guayacán, el; incora, el

AGUACATE, EL

Policeman

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

e.g. "Al policía le dicen tombo, aguacate." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of colour (the Colombian policeman's uniform is green).

Foregrounding of the physical appearance of the policeman as opposed to his function, (cf. Castalia, el (q.v.), but contrast ley, el (q.v.) and tombo, el (q.v.)).

Objectification of person.

Mainly underworld and lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle : food

Cant

cf. Castalia, el; ley, el; tombo, el

ALCAHUETAS, LAS

Clothes

Derivs : none

DRAE : "alcahuete".

e.g. "¡Cómo estás de elegante! ¿Dónde te levantaste esas

alcahuetas?"

(An4) - . . .

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear, but presumably entails the notion that clothes have an important role to play in 'procuring' a sexual partner.

The comparison is thus functional, based on relations.

Personification of object.

Lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : sex

cf. mecha, la; pinta, la

¡ANALIZA!

Pause-filler; cf. English you see, you know, etc.

Derivs : none

e.g. "Yo entré a la clase, ¡analiza!, y me dice ese pelado . ."

(And (student))

Presumably, at one time used in situations where the listener was in fact being invited to make an analysis of what the speaker said. It is now so frequently used, and in so many different contexts that it has become a pause-filler and carries no cognitive meaning.

Youth, particularly students and drug-addicts.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

cf. mejor dicho; tú sabes y vaina

ANIMALEJO, EL

Thingumajig

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

Su : no entry, but, la animaleja: "Barbarismo que vale cosa o quisicosa, a menudo empleado para designar algo con cuyo nombre no se acierta en el momento, o que se ignora por completo."

DF : no entry, but, la animaleja : "(Costa) Vale cosa o quisicosa, empleado con frecuencia para denotar algo con cuyo nombre no se acierta en el momento, o que se ignora por completo."

e.g. "Pásame el animalejo ese."

(An5)

Metaphor, illustrating the strength of the tendency to use animals as vehicle in all kinds of comparison.

The change of gender since Sundheim's time ⁽¹⁾ has been complete, though it is not easy to give a precise reason for this phenomenon.

Animalization of object.

(1) Di Filippo is of course more recent, but from the similarity in the wording it seems possible that his entry is based on Sundheim's rather than on direct experience.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : animals

cf. jugada, la

ARMARIO. BAJAR EL

To drink a large quantity of alcohol, to drink the cupboard dry.

Derivs : none

DEAE : not with bajar; no fig.

A : not with bajar; no fig.

S : not with bajar; no fig.

Su : not with bajar; no fig.. El armario : "Los que aquí llamamos armarios, y se usan en las tiendas para colocar mercancías, son anaqueles."

e.g. "Esta noche voy a la tienda y voy a bajar el armario."

(An5)

Metaphor, referring to the sense of armario given by Sundheim. The "tienda" in Barranquilla, particularly in lower class areas, also serves as a bar and, in the evening, this is its main function. The expression thus refers to obliging the shopkeeper-barman to get down all the bottles he has on the shelf, and the metaphor is one of contiguity. This hyperbolic expression is more precise as to quantity than a vague "mucho" or "muchísimo", without putting any restriction on the said quantity, as would be required by any other concrete expression such as the number of bottles to be consumed.

Lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : artefacts

ARRASTRAR

To take someone away under arrest.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

BA : "Acción por la que la prostituta requiere al hombre que encuentra en la calle a la cohabitación."

e.g. "¿Fulano? Lo arrastraron anoche - estaba fumando marihuana." (An4)

Metaphor, based on the functional relations between the subject and the object of the verb.

Objectification of the person who is object of the verb, emphasising the imposition of the will of the subject and the passivity of the object.

Lower class, mainly those who have some contact with the underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

Comparison with the sense given by Bonilla is interesting in that, although the details of the situation referred to are different, the motivation of the metaphor is the same: the functional relations of subject and object are similar and both involve objectification.

ARREGLAR A LO CERDO

Deceitfully to take advantage of somebody.

Derivs : none

e.g. "Cuidado con ese tipo, mijo, de pronto te lo arregla a lo cerdo el tal negocio." (An2)

Metaphor, based on the general low esteem in which the pig is held. There is some doubt as to which party in the transaction is referred to as cerdo: it might at first sight be thought to be the perpetrator of the deceit (cf. English a dirty deal), but comparison with the expression el marrano (q.v.) suggests that it is in fact the victim who is intended. The quality of the pig being called upon here is not its dirtiness but its stupidity.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Foregrounding of the qualities of the victim rather than those of the deceiver.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : animals

This analysis, placing emphasis on the stupidity of the victim is further corroborated by the usual reaction of Colombians to this type of situation: great admiration is shown for the person who is "hábil", "vivo", and these are often proudly quoted as national characteristics, while there is little sympathy for "el que se deja tomar", (cf. bobo, el (q.v.)).

ASI LE VAS A DECIR A BOCIO

Expression indicating that what has been said by the other person is nonsense or of no interest.

Derivs : none

e.g. "¡Te digo que me van a dar trabajo la semana entrante!" (An5)

¡Así le vas a decir a Bocio!" (An5)

Formula, based on the fame of a Barranquilla policeman by the name of Bocio, renowned for his severity and refusal to listen to any protestations on the part of detainees. The implication is that whatever is being said is falling on deaf ears, or is not worth saying.

A functional metaphor of activity.

The reference is obviously local, Bocio's fame not, to my knowledge, having spread outside Barranquilla, and is extremely vivid as many stories of personal experiences with him may still be heard.

Lower class.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : police

cf. Así le vas a decir al coime

ASI LE VAS A DECIR AL COIME

Expression indicating that what has been said by the other person is nonsense or of no interest.

Derivs : none

e.g. "¡Te digo que me van a dar trabajo la semana entrante!

¡Así le vas a decir al coime!" (S2)

Formula. The coime is the man in charge of taking bets and supervising the play in a gambling den, and like Bocio (v. Así le vas a decir a Bocio) is noted for his unsympathetic ear. The implication is that whatever is being said is falling on deaf ears or is not worth saying.

This saying almost certainly preceded and was the model for Así le vas a decir a Bocio (q.v.) which means exactly the same and has partly replaced it, as more vivid and more intensely local.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Lower class. The reference is class-specific as the coime is a feature of poor gaming houses and not of elegant casinos.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : gambling

cf. Así le vas a decir a Bocio

BACAN

- (1) Someone who is liked and respected, a good guy, a tough guy
- (2) Happy, cheerful, in high spirits

Derivs : syn. bacano

A : Arg., "persona que goza de ascendiente entre las mujeres. (...)

En lunfardo, señorito bien vestido, lechuguino."

S : Arg., Bol., "dño. del truhán que vive en concubinato o man-

tenido por una barragana, entre la picaresca."

W : "cosa bonita, individuo bien vestido; gran señor, persona adinerada."

BA : "Elegante, presumido."

Gu : "Hombre que mantiene a una mujer. (...) Más tarde pasó a ser bacán el hombre adinerado que lleva una vida fácil y de derroches, y se llamó bacana a la mujer que goza de igual situación económica."

e.g. (1) "-Y, ¿había mucho bacán en esa escuela? (14)

—Cómo no. Así ¿de la pesada? Sí, Fulano y Zutano." (11)

"Quién sabe . . . a lo mejor el Jimmy Carter resulta un 'man bacano'."

(M1) (1)

(1) cf. Appendix

(2) "Cuando he tenido plata y estaba bacano y
cheverísimo."

(11)

Italian loan-word, of Genoese origin (2). It was first adopted into lunfardo (3), then into more general River Plate slang, whence it has spread to other Latin American countries changing its meaning somewhat on the way. Its Colombian meaning is appreciative, indicating a degree of superiority which may be either psychological, physical or both. It is used as both noun (e.g. first example) and adjective (e.g. second and third examples).

In Barranquilla, many appreciative expressions, when applied to people, involve notions of physical strength and toughness, as well as intelligence and affability (cf. e.g. templado (q.v.), teso (q.v.), violento (q.v.)). This combination of values is expressed in the first example in the use of both bacán and la pesada (q.v.). Its original Argentine meaning, relating to prostitution and/or concubinage has been lost in Barranquilla.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : loan-word

Cant.

(2) Olivieri : Bacán "Messere, il vecchio de casa, Padre, Padrone." (15)

(3) cf. Wagner : 187-8, "Es uno de los italianismos del lunfardo bonaerense y corresponde al genovés baccán."

BACÁN COMO EL ALACRÁN

Great person, good fun, good guy

Derivs : none

e.g. "¿Fulano es buena persona? (An4)

~ Claro, mijo, ibacán como el alacrán!" (An1)

Assonantal association. An example of the Barranquillero's love of word play, particularly the exploitation of rhyme and rhythm. The meaning relies entirely on that of bacán (q.v.), bearing no relation whatsoever to that of alacrán. Always used adjectivally in predicate position.

Rhyming expressions of this form tend to involve either an ironical, incongruous comparison, usually with an animal, or the use of a proper name. They are always used in their entirety, rather than being reduced to the element unrelated to the meaning as in Cockney Rhyming Slang.

The choice of animals for use in these comparisons would seem to suggest that they constitute a further example of the concretization of abstract mental states, but the lack of relevance of the actual characteristics of the animals themselves would argue against such an interpretation. It is perhaps rather an extension of the tendency to use animals in comparisons of all kinds.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. in form, elegante como el elefante; hermoso como el oso;

legal como Pascual; Raimundo y todo el mundo; tranquilo como Camilo

BAGRE, EL

Unattractive woman, generally middle-aged

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Col., Chile, Ecuad., "mujer fea y desgarrada."

S : Arg., Mex., Urug., "persona fea." Col., "lo charro y de mal gusto." El bagrero : R. Pl., Perú, "el que gusta de enamorar mujeres feas."

Cu : "Lo charro y de mal gusto, acaso por las manchas grises y blancas de aquél."

DF : "Sujeto antipático; mujer fea y desgarrada."

BA : "Mujer fea."

Gu : "Mujer fea y sin atractivo alguno."

e.g. "Sí, la niña es linda, pero, ¿conociste a la madre?

¡Es un bagre!"

(An 5)

Metaphor based on physical appearance of the fish.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

This expression is, to my knowledge, used only in the sense cited here; I have not come across that quoted by Cuervo and Santamaría for Colombia and imagine it to have been superseded by the present sense. In both cases the same process is involved: making reference to the unpleasant appearance of the fish.

BAJAR

- (1) To mug
- (2) To kill

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

FLIII : "matar"

BN : "Cortar o herir con arma blanca."

e.g. (1) "Esa mujer que va ahí, bájenla. Yo no sé nada." (II)

(2) "Varón es el que se defiende solo, el que para a cualquier,
el que lo baja solo y no necesita de padrinos." (II)

Restriction of meaning. The use of a common word denoting a perfectly harmless activity to refer to a criminal activity is a fairly frequent phenomenon. It emphasises the fact that for the criminal himself, the activity is in fact a normal part of life. Henceforth, I shall refer to this process as normalization.

It also focuses attention on the purely physical, visible aspect of the action rather than on its purpose or effect, and therefore has an impersonal, unemotional tone which is quite different from the ordinary person's reaction to the same situation and clearly labels the user as a criminal, or at least someone who is not unsympathetic to criminals.

Mainly underworld and those connected with it.

Tenor : (1) and (2) crime

Vehicle : (1) and (2) physical action

Cant.

cf. (2), chuleta, dar; quebrar

BARBUL, EL

Unimportant or insignificant person, a nobody

Derivs : none

Su : "Tengo yo esta voz por corrupción de albur, pez que menciona Cervantes en su Quijote y en Rinconete y Cortadillo, mas sin entregar mi opinión al brazo secular, me inclino ante barbudo que es de uso tradicional desde antes de mediar el siglo XVIII."

DF : "(Costa) Cierta pez de río (...). 2. (Costa) Persona entrometida."

e.g. "No, cuadro, para palanca ese tipo no te sirve. Es un barbul." (I21)

Metaphor, based on the fact that, though often present in the catch, the fish is not eaten in Barranquilla, and is therefore considered a useless intruder. In my experience, its slang use generally highlights the aspect of uselessness rather than that of intrusion as suggested by Di Filippo.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

BASTON 7-7, EL

Long knife (weapon)

Derivs : abbrev. el bastón

e.g. "Uuy, viene con un bastón 7-7 (...). Eso es un tronco de
puñal."

(11)

"Ese destornillador era un bastón."

(11)

Metaphor, based on the shape of the instrument. The use of numbers is presumably a reference to the calibre, as with a gun, but why the 'magic' number 7 should be chosen is less clear.

The comparison involves normalization, and foregrounds the appearance, rather than the function of the weapon, particularly when it is used without the 'calibre'.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : artefacts

Cant.

The second example is interesting in that it involves a double metaphor: screwdriver compared with knife and knife with stick.

BILLETE DE A PESO, EL

A person who is constantly being met with, a bad penny

Derivs : none

e.g. "¿Sabes qué? Me encontré otra vez con Tulano. Ese man es
un verdadero billete de a peso." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on the commonness of these notes, the smallest ones in circulation in Colombia (value approx. 2p.). The notes tend to become very dirty and battered which is probably also a factor in the comparison.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : mildly pejorative expression

Vehicle : money

The similarity to the English expression bad penny is interesting; I have not come across any reference to similar expressions in other areas, but the question merits further investigation.

cf. caramelo fácil, el

BLOQUE, VOLAR EL

To make someone very angry

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with bloque, but volar : "fig. Irritar, enfadar, picar a uno."

A : as DRAE

e.g. "Eso me voló el bloque cuando ese hijueputa se puso a dar
órdenes a todo el mundo." (I9)

Metaphor, based on the metaphorical use of sacar la piedra (v. piedra, sacar la (2)) and using hyperbole to revivify a dying metaphor, as well as taking advantage of the figurative sense of volar cited by DRAE and Alonso.

Concretization of an abstract mental process by comparison with a physical action.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : physical action

cf. cola, dar; piedra, sacar la

BOBO, EL

Watch

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : Am., germ., "reloj de bolsillo."

S : "vulgarismo argentino, por reloj de bolsillo."

W : "reloj, cronómetro."

Gu : "Nombre que los lunfardos dan al reloj."

e.g. "Imaginate que se me perdió el bobo."

(An5)

Metaphor, based on the thieves' practice of asking someone the time with the purpose of stealing his/her watch once it is revealed. The person who falls for this trick is considered foolish and this quality is then transferred to the article itself. It was almost certainly first used in lunfardo (cf. Guarnieri): it then spread to cant in other parts of Latin America and is now no longer restricted to cant.

Personification through the attribution of a human quality to an inanimate object.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

Cant.

BOLA, RODAR LA

To spread a rumour

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with rodar, but la bola : "fig. y fam., embuste, mentira."

A : as DRAE

S : not with rodar, but, la bola : Ecuad., "falsa noticia, rumor infundado, mentire por lo común intencionada."

DE : not with rodar, but, la bola : "Rumor callejero sobre alguna noticia incierta."

e.g. "¿Cómo te parece? El tipo ese está rodando la bola de que mi mujer me está poniendo cachos." (An5)

Metaphor, based on the action of the footballer in dribbling the ball, wending his way between the other players and finally getting the ball to the other end of the pitch. It is an extension of the figurative use of la bola, and makes the image more precise.

It foregrounds ingenuity, skill, and insinuation.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of a purely verbal activity by comparison with a physical activity; in particular, the aspects foregrounded by the metaphor are mental qualities which are here compared with physical skills.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : sport

BOLAS, PARAR

To pay attention

Derivs : none

DF : "Hacer caso, fijar la atención en alguna cosa, atender lo que dice alguien."

FLI : "poner atención, demostrar interés."

BN : no entry, but, dar bola : "Corresponder; responder a un llamado o solicitud. (U.t.c.) Aceptar los requerimientos amorosos."

Gu : no entry, but, dar bola : "Dar importancia. /Prestar una atención innmerecida."

Tr : no entry, but, pararlas : "entender, comprender (replana)."

e.g. "Imaginate tí, dízque antes, si había un tiempecito así no le paraban bolas, si llovía tormenta." (11)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which may well bear some relation to football (cf. bola, rodar la (q.v.)) (1).

It is freely used with the dative in all persons, e.g. ¡párame bolas! - "pay attention to me!"

Concretization of a mental activity.

(1) Flórez suggests that the reference is to billiards but gives no further explanation; the other works cited offer no suggestions as to the origin of the expression.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : sport

The present sense is clearly related to the expressions cited by Bendezú Neyra, Guarnieri and Trejo, but the meaning has developed along slightly different lines in different areas.

BOLETA DE CAPTURA, LA

Criminal who is well known to the police

Derivs : none

Su : "apenas no hay quien no diga boleta de captura y boleta de excarcelación, en vez de orden o cédula."

e.g. "Sí hay, bastante (gente tesa). Pero, tú sabes, tienen sus papeles y eso ... Con decirme (los policías) "¡Venga ahí!", me paran : "Ah, ahí va una boleta de captura. ¡Venga acá!" Pero, en cambio lo ven a Ud., con esa grabadora y todo, ni siquiera le piden los papeles."
(11)

Metaphor, the explanation of which is found in the entry for boleta de captura in Sundheim, the inference being that to be or to be seen with, such a person is as good as having a warrant issued for one's arrest.

The metaphor is functional of relations.

Objectification of the person concerned.

Used by the underworld and those with some connection with it.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : crime

Cant.

BOLSA, LA

Face

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

e.g. "Estaban peleando y perdío dos dientes y se le hinchó toda la
bolsa." (An2)

Metaphor, of somewhat obscure origin, perhaps referring to the use of the mouth as a receptacle for food, and/or the shape of the face, with the opening of the mouth at one end. I suspect a mixture of the two is implied, emphasising both shape and function of the face.

Objectification of a part of the human body.

Lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. chapa, la

BOLLO LIMPIO, DAR

To strike, to beat someone up

Derivs : adj. bollao -- dead

DRAE : no entry, but, el bollo : "chichón."

A : no entry, but, el bollo : "Hinchazón en la cabeza producida por un golpe. Arag., Nav., Chichón en la cabeza, " Hond., R.Pl., "Puñetazo."

S : no entry, but, el bollo : Hond., "vulgarmente puñetazo."

FlIV : no with dar, but, el bollo limpio : "Costa, Bollo de maíz limpio de afrecho. Se cocina envuelto en hojas."

Gu : no entry, but, el bollo : "Puñetazo."

e.g. "¿'Timbrar' no puede ser dar un golpe? (I21)

-- Ya no se usa en la forma esa. Ahora es dañar, dar harina, bollo limpio, bollao." (I1)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape and then transferred by a process of metonymy from the bruise to the punch, i.e. from effect to cause.

The extension of the metaphor to bollo limpio (a particular kind of bollo found in Barranquilla, cf. FlIV) lends a local overtone which the expression would not otherwise have.

Mainly underworld and those connected with it.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : food

Cent.

The relationship between this expression and dar harina (v. harina, dar) presents an interesting case of secondary elaboration or rationalisation. On being asked for the meaning of dar bollo limpio, more than one informant volunteered the explanation that it came from the expression dar harina which was based on the idea of "fattening up for the kill." (1) From the dictionary entries it seems clear that the derivation in fact occurred the other way round, but as the intermediate step of bollo, "bruise, swelling", has been lost, another explanation has been found.

cf. harina, dar

(1) Bollo is the commonest form of farinaceous food in Barranquilla so the explanation is plausible from that point of view.

¡BOQUIO!

Hello, hi!

Derivs : none

e.g. "¡Boquio, cuadro! ¿Qué me cuentas? ¿Qué has hecho?" (I22)

Backslang, from ¿Quiubo?, a greeting common to many parts of Spanish America. (1)

Mainly used by students.

Tenor : personal relations

(1) For discussion of ¿Qué hubo? and ¿Quiubo?, v. Rosenblat (1960) vol. II : 220-223.

BURRO, EL

Marihuana smoker

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

Su : no related sense

e.g. "Ahí en ese patio es donde se encuentran todos los burros a fumar." (I21)

Metaphor, based on another, viz. the use of hierba (q.v.) to mean marihuana (cf. English grass). The marihuanero's consumption of 'grass' is compared with that of the donkey which is used here as an image of the archetypal grass-eater involving no suggestion of stupidity as there would be in English (1).

A syntagmatic metaphor.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : animals

(1) The animal generally used in Barranquilla to epitomise stupidity is the pig, cf. arreglar a lo cerdo (q.v.), marranc, el (q.v.).

BUS, BAJARSE DEL

To pay off a debt

Derivs : none

M : no entry, but, bajar : Cuba, S.Dgo., "En la jerga comercial, pagar."

e.g. "Al fin me levanté una chamba, ya podré bajarme del bus." (An4)

Metaphor, based on the notion of ceasing to rely on someone else's support and becoming independent, continuing under one's own steam, to cite a similar metaphor in English. (No direct reference is made to the paying of money, as Barranquilla buses are all one-man buses in which payment is made to the driver on entry).

A functional metaphor of relations.

The reference is not exactly class-specific but it does entail class connotations as the lower class always have to rely on public transport whereas the middle class more often have their own transport or, when they are reduced to public transport, use the more comfortable and more expensive buseta rather than the bus.

Lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : travel

cf. matar la culebra (v. culebra, la)

BUSCADOR DE PLAZA, EL

Nomadic criminal

Derivs : none

e.g. "Si es de Montería y tiene antecedentes (penales) aquí en
Barranquilla es un buscador de plaza." (Tl)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity. Plaza is here used with double meaning: both 'square' (and hence 'town') and 'job'; just as a person may wander from one place to another seeking work, so s/he may also wander looking for new opportunities for criminal activity, and running away from a criminal record.

Functional metaphor, involving normalization.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : work

Cant.

CABESTRO, MASCARSE EL

To kiss

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with mascarse, no fig.

A : not with mascarse, no fig.

S : not with mascarse, no related sense

e.g. "Deja los muchachos quietos. Que tú te mueres de rabia y ellos
mascándose el cabestro." (M4)

Metaphor, based on similarity of action.

Foregrounding of the movement rather than its meaning as part of a human relationship.

Lower class.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. cabuya, mascarse la

CABREARSE

To get angry

Derivs : adj. cabrero - angry

DRAE : "Arag. Molestar, mortificar, poner a uno malhumorado. U.t.c.r.";

ponerse cabrero : Arg., "enojarse en demasía."

S : "vulgarismo cubano por enfadarse, enojarse."; cabrero : no adj.,
no fig.

Gu : "Irritarse, enojarse (lunf.)"; cabrero : "Enojado, irritado (lunf.)"

e.g. "O los otros que ni siquiera me conocen el modo de ser ni nada, me
vengan a decir : "¿Por qué tú no vas a trabajar?" Entonces yo
me venga a cabrear." (Il)

"Prefiero no contarle eso a mi marido. De pronto se me pone
cabrero." (An2)

Metaphor, based on the animal's reputation for bad-temperedness. The
metaphor is thus functional of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

It seems probable that, like so many expressions common in American
Spanish slang, this usage originated in lunfardo (cf. Guarnieri) and

thence spread to other social strata and other countries, but there is so little agreement between the various dictionaries as to its geographical distribution that it is impossible to say anything definite in this respect.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

The various derivations of cabro are very productive of figurative expressions but it is interesting to note that in Barranquilla, where the present use of cabrear and cabrero is very frequent, cabrón in the sense 'cuckold', which is common in many Spanish-speaking countries is, in my experience, generally replaced by toro cachón (q.v.), the essential element being the possession of horns.

cf. English, to get someone's goat

CABUYA, MASCARSE LA

To kiss

Derivs : none

A : Ven., "Deshacerse con industria de alguna traba."

S : S.Am., "fr. fig. y fam., deshacerse con industria de algo que no agrada o que incomoda; darse maña para defenderse de malas artes empleadas contra uno."

e.g. "Deja los muchachos quietos. Que tú te mueres de rabia y ellos mascandose la cabuya." (M4)

Metaphor, based on similarity of action.

Foregrounding of the movement rather than its meaning as part of a human relationship.

Lower class.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : artefacts

I have not encountered the sense cited by Alonso and Santamaría and cannot see any connection between it and the present sense.

cf. cabestro, mascarse el

CACHACO, EL

Bogotano, and, by extension, anyone from the interior of Colombia.

Derivs : none

DRAE : Col., "Hombre joven, elegante, servicial, y caballeroso."

Col., Ecuad., Ven., "Gomoso, lechuguino, petimetre."

P.R., "Nombre que se da a los españoles de buena posición económica en la zona campesina de la isla."

A : P.R., "El español de ideas reaccionarias." Co., Ecuad., Ven.,
"Gomoso, petimetre, lechuguino."

S : Col., Ven., Ecuad., "Gomoso, lechuguino, petimetre, que sigue los caprichos de la moda." Col., "Desaliñado en el vestido."
P.R., "Español de ideas reaccionarias." (1)

Su : "Así llamamos en la Costa Atlántica a los oriundos de Cundinamarca principalmente, pero por extensión se suele decir de todos los colombianos que proceden de los departamentos mediterráneos de la República. En Bogotá cachaco vale persona distinguida."

Cu : "Significó primeramente entre nosotros desaliñado en el vestido, y todavía en casa nos decían cuando teníamos traza de estudiante descuidado : "estás muy cachaco." Como por los años de 1830 los jóvenes liberales, y en particular los estudiantes tomaron calurosamente parte en los movimientos que precedieron y acompañaron la creación de la Nueva Granada, sus contrarios los llamaban desdeñosamente cachacos : pero habiendo triunfado,

lo que habfa sido denigrativo, se hizo título de honor, y vino la voz a significar joven elegante y garboso, no pocas veces un tanto amigo de aventuras: hoy es uno de tantos equivalentes de lechuguino, petimetre."

DF : "Hombre de buena sociedad. 2. Como adjetivo, afable, cortés, culto. 3. (Costa) Hombre del interior de la República."

FLII: "Costa. Nativo del interior de Colombia."

BN : "Agente de policía. Maldito, perverso."

H : "Mote despectivo del policía, del soldado y del militar en general. (...). Puede proponerse una doble hipótesis etimológica: cachaco, 'policia, soldado' vendría del quechua kakkehay 'aterrorizar', en tanto que cachaco, 'desaliñado', tendría otro origen dentro de la misma lengua (tal vez el chichaisuyo kashaku 'desgreñado'). Ambas palabras pueden haber resultado homónimas en el español de América."

e.g. "¿Te acuerdas del cachaquito de barba, amigo de Fulano?" (I6)

"Siempre me dicen "Eh, tú eres amigo de ese cachaco hijueputa." (I9)

Loan-word from Quechua. The Barranquilla and Puerto Rico senses of the word seem to combine some of the connotations of both the derivations suggested by Hildebrandt, in that they are mildly pejorative and involve the notion of someone who is in a position of dominance. I have quoted from Cuervo at length since he gives the historical explanation for what would otherwise be a surprising switch from pejorative to appreciative in the sense of the word as used in Bogotá.

(In Bogotá, the word used for bogotano is rolo (2).)

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : mildly pejorative expression

Vehicle : loan-word

- (1) Santamaría also gives a lengthy quote from a lecture by Laureano García Ortiz, entitled Los "cachacos" de Bogotá, in which he expands on the meaning of the word as used in Bogotá, relating it to certain traits of personality which he describes as "la más alta florescencia del carácter nacional. (...) la esencia, el producto refinado del tipo colombiano." There are no such connotations in the sense used in Barranquilla.
- (2) FLIV : rolo : "fam. Nativo de Bogotá y, a veces, un poco más extensamente, de las tierras frías de los departamentos de Cundinamarca y Boyacá. Puede ser en ocasiones despectivo."

CACHÉ, EL

Charisma, style

Derive : none

A : no fig.

e.g. "Ese tipo me fascina; es de un caché increíble." (I6)

French loan-word, from le cachet : "Aspect particulier, caractère original qui retient l'attention." (Larousse). The meaning seems to be very close to the original French, and this, together with the fact that its use is, in my experience, still confined to the middle class, and is not mentioned in any of the dictionaries, would perhaps suggest that it has been adopted into Spanish only fairly recently, though there is no documentary evidence for this.

Middle class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : loan-word

CACHEGUA, IA

Annoying person, frivolous and unreliable in business matters

Derivs : none

DF : "(Costa) Pez pequeño del río Magdalena, provisto de tres espolones agudos defensivos : dos a los lados y uno sobre el espinazo; los pliega y esconde a voluntad, con los cuales hiere la mano que lo aprisione o las fauces del caimán que se lo trague. 2. ¡Cachegua! Interjección que suelen usar los vendedores del mercado público para denotar que un presunto comprador no alberga verdaderas intenciones de comprar. Úsase especialmente en Bolívar y más especialmente aún en Cartagena."

e.g. "--¿Cómo va el negocio? (I6)

--¡Al, miya, No hay verdaderos clientes, pura cachegua." (I13)

Metaphor, based on the somewhat treacherous behaviour of the fish, which is not what it at first appears to be. In Barranquilla, it is generally found as a noun rather than in the interjectional use cited by Di Filippo for Cartagena.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

The reference is local as the fish is, apparently, found only in the R. Magdalena (cf. Di Filippo).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

CACHETE, IR DE

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : n. la cacheteada -- action of drinking at someone else's expense

DRAE : no entry, but cachetear : Chile, "comer en abundancia y a gusto."

e.g. "-¿Vas al bar esta noche?

- Sí, pero no tengo plata, voy de cachete. (An5)

- Y, ¿a quién le vas a hacer la cacheteada?" (An5)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not evident. The idea of filling one's cheeks with food (cf. English to stuff one's face), which is presumably at the root of the Chilean expression cited by DRAE, could easily be transferred to drink, but why it should come to mean at someone else's expense is less clear.

Lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : parts of the body

cf. canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de ; miquear

(v. mico, el); Miki Creiser, irselas de; palo, montarse en el;

muela, dar; tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tubería poner la.

CACHOS, PONER

To be unfaithful to one's spouse or lover

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with poner, no fig.

A : not with poner, no related sense

S : not with poner, no related sense

Su : not with poner, no related sense

FLIII : no entry, but, aguantacacho, cachón : "cornudo"

GI : "expresión para designar la infidelidad."

e.g. "A mí no me importa si él me puso cachos con ella porque yo la
estimo mucho y seguirá siendo amiga mía." (110)

Metaphor, derived from the metaphorical use of cabrón in the sense
'cuckold', which is common in many Spanish-speaking areas, though
not in Barranquilla. The present expression foregrounds what seems
to be the central feature of the metaphor, viz. the possession of
horns (cf. also toro cachón (q.v.)).

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : sex - deceit

Vehicle : animals

CAERSE

To be caught by the police in the act of a crime

Derivs : n. la caída -- effect of being caught by the police in the
act of a crime

DRAE : no related sense

A : no refl., but, Mex., caer : "Cachar, sorprender"; caer tierra :
"ser sorprendida una persona en determinada acción."

S : no related sense

Gu : "dejarse embaucar."

e.g. "¿Supiste que Fulano se cayó anoche? Estaba fumando monte y
lo arrastraron." (Anl)

"Al rebelarme a un policía, estoy buscando el quiebre, es
decir, la caída, para que el policía me mate." (Il)

Metaphor, based on the notion of falling into a trap, which is
also evident in the sense given by Guarnieri. The metaphor is
functional of relations, comparing an unexpected and undesirable
change in social/legal position with a similar change in physical
position.

Normalization is also involved.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

CALETO, ESTAR

To have something shut away or hidden, especially money or stolen goods

Derivs : v. encaletar - to hide something away

A : no entry, but el caleta : germ., "Ladrón que hurta por agujero.

Agujero." encaletar : Chile, "Meter en caleta."

DF : not with estar, but caleto : "En algunas partes significa repleto, lleno, sobre todo de regalos."

W : no entry, but, la caleta : "sitio en donde se esconden los pícaros o en donde guardan sus objetos adquiridos ilícitamente."
encaletarse : "esconderse, perderse de vista."

BN : no entry, but, la caleta : "Lugar donde se esconde lo hurtado."
encaletar : "Esconder, ocultar."

Tr : no entry, but, la caleta : "lugar seguro para guardar robos (coya y replana). Lugar donde se alberga el ladrón con la condición de que comparta el botín con quien lo hospeda, (replana). Bolsillo llamado secreto, (replana)." encaletarse : "ocultarse en el lugar que se pretende robar hasta el momento propicio para ejecutar el robo."

e.g. "Fulano está caleta; estuvo trabajando anoche, pero no quiere gastar nada por miedo de espanturrarse." (An5)

"Esa plata la tienes que encaletar. De pronto alguien te lo roba." (An2)

Neologism, based on la cala meaning the hold of a ship, and, more

generally in South America, a hole of any kind.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Cant.

CAMALEON, EL

Opportunist, person who changes her/his opinions as is convenient

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. y fam. Persona que por carácter o a impulsos del favor
o del interés, muda con facilidad de pareceres o de doctrinas."

A : as DRAE

S : no fig.

e.g. "No, yo soy conservador toda la vida. Yo no soy de esos
camaleones." (An7)

Metaphor, based on the ability of the animal to change colour
according to its surroundings.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of a mental activity by comparison with a physical one.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. manzanillo, el

CAMELLO, EL

Hard work

Derivs : v. camellar - to work hard

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : no related sense. camellear : "En algunos lugares de Costa Rica, pasar el tiempo, holgazanar, estar ocioso."

FLIV : no entry. camellar : "vulg. trabajar."

O : no entry, but, camear : "to work."

e.g. "Yo ya no doy más esto ⁽¹⁾ es un camello muy tenaz!!" (M2) ⁽²⁾
"Lo que pasa es que después de pasar todo el día camellando, uno no tiene ganas de llegar a la casa a cocinar." (An2)

Metaphor, presumably based on a view of the camel as a working animal, though the contrast with the sense given for Costa Rica by Santamaría is interesting.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of a human activity.

It seems probable that Ornstein's camear is a phonological variant of the same word. The reference in this case is unusual in being

(1) El Ministerio de Trabajo, cf. Appendix.
(2) cf. Appendix.

obviously foreign or exotic rather than local.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : work

Vehicle : animals

CAMINANTES, LOS

Rubber-soled shoes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

BA : "Zapatos."

Gu : "nombre que se le da a los zapatos."

e.g. "A los (zapatos) de cuero se le dicen timbas, rieles, pisos,
timbales. A los de caucho también le dicen gomas, caminantes." (11)

Metaphor, based on the proximity between shoes and feet.

Foregrounding of the function rather than the physical form of
shoes.

Personification, involving the attribution of a human activity to
an inanimate object.

Underworld and lower class.

Probably originally lunfardo.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : physical action

Cant. (cf. gomas, las; pisa-suaves, los).

CAMION, EL

Lie, whopper

Deriva : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no related sense

e.g. "No me insistas con esa vaina, ya sé que es camión." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on the use of la carreta (q.v.), to refer to a statement of no substance or containing an element of untruthfulness. The element of untruthfulness is greatly magnified by changing the image from a cart to a lorry.

A syntagmatic metaphor.

Concretization of an abstract difference of degree through comparison with a difference in physical size.

Objectification of a human activity.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : artefacts, travel

CANADA

Prison

Derivs : pagar un canazo - to go to prison

A : no entry, but, la cana : Arg., Col., Chile, Perú, Urug.,

"En argot, cárcel, prisión."

S : no entry, but, la cana : Arg., "Cárcel, prisión. Usase entre gente maleante."

W : no entry, but, la cana : "Cárcel."

BN : "Comisaría, carceleta."

Gu : no entry, but, la cana : "Cárcel. /Agente de policía. (lunf.)"

Tr : no entry, but, estar en cana : "estar preso (caliche, coa, gíria, lunf. y replana)."

e.g. "Hace meses que Fulano está en Canadá." (An4)

"Yo, si es el canazo, lo pago." (Il)

Assonantal association, based on la cana, 'prison', adopted from Italian into lunfardo ⁽¹⁾ and subsequently into general South American cant. Advantage is also taken of the pun involved in the use of a place name, which enlivens a well-worn metaphor and allows the very convincing construction estar en Canadá.

The idea of prison as a physical place is foregrounded at the expense of its function, introducing an element of normalization.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : place name

Cant.

cf. municipio, el

pagar un canazo, cf. modelar

- (1) Castro : "cana : 'prisión, vigilante', comp. veneciano "metare in cana", 'meter en la cárcel'; pero también fr. canne 'surveillant de la haute police.'" (156). Wagner quotes Castro and adds : "En América la palabra es sin duda un italianismo del lunfardo argentino, que se ha difundido en los otros países como de costumbre." (192).

CANAL, PONER LA

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : n. la canalería - action of drinking at someone else's expense

DRAE : not with poner, but, "fig. y fest. tragadero, faringe."

A : not with poner, no related sense

S : not with poner, no related sense

DF : "Aprovecharse de (la) generosidad (de alguien) para disfrutar a sus costas."

e.g. "Me voy donde mi hermano a ponerle la canal." (114) (1)

"A mí lo que no me gusta de ese tipo es la canalería." (An5)

Metaphor, based on the idea of channelling off resources from someone else's supply. The figurative meaning of canal given by DRAE may also have had some influence on the formation of this expression, though I have not come across this sense of canal in Barranquilla.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. cachete, ir de; caña, poner la; gorra, ir de; miguear
(v. nico, el); Miki Creiser, irse de; muela, dar; palo, montarse
en el; tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tubería, poner la.

CANTÓN. EL

House

Derivs : none

DRAE : "esquina de un edificio. Región, territorio."

A : "Esquina de las paredes de un edificio."

S : no related sense

BN : "Casa, hogar,"

Ba : "House (New Mex.), home (Pachuco)."

e.g. "Y tú ¿qué haces cuando estás en el cantón?" (I22)

Metaphor, based on synecdoche, using the name of part of the house to refer to the house as a whole.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : house and family

Vehicle : house and family

CANAP. 3A

(1) Penis

(2) Party at which a great deal of alcohol is consumed

Derivs : none

Su : "vale tanto como encarecer sus (de una cosa) méritos y virtudes ponderativamente."

NT : "(Costa) Fuerza, vigor, valor. Decir de un hombre que es de cañaña es expresar que es de canela." (Canela : Valor, energía, arrojo.")

e.g. (1) "El pobre tipo, viéndola no más se le paró la cañaña." (I8)

(2) "Esta tarde vamos todos a hacer la cañaña en Soledad (1)." (M3)

Metaphor, in at least one of its senses. The second sense seems to be derivative from the first but I have not been able to trace the origin of the expression. It would also seem probable that the sense given by Sundheim and which, in my experience, is no longer commonly used, derives from the sense 'penis', (cf. verga, ser la (q.v.) 'to be the greatest, the strongest'), but he is always too delicate to make direct reference to the sexual connotations of his entries and therefore sheds no light on this matter. Di Filippo's sense also appears to derive from the present sense (1). I would suggest that we are here dealing with a functional metaphor in which comparison is made between the value attached to the penis and that attached to the activity of drinking alcohol, and emphasis is placed on the fact that the ability to drink in large quantities is considered

a sign of masculinity.

(1) Middle and lower classes.

(2) Lower class.

Tenor : (1) parts of the body

(2) alcohol

Vehicle : (1) (?)

(2) parts of the body

cf. (1) plátano, el; vergüenza, la; visuaca, la (1)

(2) visuaca, la (2)

(1) A small town on the outskirts of Barranquilla.

CANAÑA, PONER LA

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivo : none

e.g. "¡Vamos donde Fulano a ponerle la canaña!" (An4)

Assonantal association, based on canal, poner la (q.v.), and also making reference to the second sense of canaña, la (q.v.), 'party at which a great deal of alcohol is consumed'.

Lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : alcohol

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; gorra, ir de; miquear (v. mico, el);

Miki Greiser, irse las de; muela, dar; palo, montarse en el; tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tubería, poner la.

CARAMELO FACIL, EL

Person who is frequently met with

Derivs : none

e.g. "¿Fulano estuvo en la fiesta del viernes? (121)

-¡Claro que sí! Tú sabes que él es caramelo fácil." (122)

Metaphor, based on a game, in which the manufacturers of a certain type of sweet used to enclose with the sweets picture cards to be collected to form a set and win a prize. Those cards which were most often obtained were known as 'caramelo fácil', whence the metaphorical use of the expression to refer to a person who is always turning up.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Objectification of person and localized reference.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : mildly pejorative expression

Vehicle : gambling

cf. billete de a peso, el

CARGADO. Tr

- (1) To be carrying loot from a robbery
- (2) To be carrying marihuana

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with ir, no related sense

A : not with ir, no fig.

P : not with ir, but cargado "Quien acaba de recibir dinero. (Se usa con el verbo estar.)"

Tr : not with ir, but, andar cargado : "portar arma".

e.g. (1) "Lo cogieron cuando iba cargado y lo encanaron." (An5)

(2) "Me paró el policía, y yo que iba cargado -- te digo que me dio la pálida." (I9)

Restriction of meaning, involving normalization.

It is interesting to note that the sense given by Trejo, though different in detail, involves the same principle: the notion of carrying some evidence of illegal activity.

The expression is group-specific in that the sense varies as between (1) and (2) according to speaker, listener and/or context.

Underworld and drug-takers.

Tenor : (1) crime

(2) drugs

Vehicle : (1) and (2) physical characterisation

Cant.

CARRRRETA, LA

- (1) Repetitive, garrulous speech, somewhat trivial in content and returning constantly to a favourite theme of the speaker
- (2) Similar to (1), but implying also a slight element of untruthfulness or at least a lack of seriousness of intention on the part of the speaker

Derivs : syn. la carretilla

DRAE : no fig., but, la carretilla : "fig. y fam., tomando bien de memoria lo que se ha leído y estudiado, y diciéndolo de corrido. Se usa con los verbos saber, repetir, etc."

A : no fig., but, la carretilla : "Manera de decir de memoria con rapidez y sin reflexión." Guat., "Necedad, impertinencia."

S : no related sense, but, la carretilla : Col., "serie ininterrumpida. Dijo una CARRRRETILLA de disparates."

DF : "Hablar precipitado."

e.g. (1) "Por ejemplo, hay tiendas que se llaman dizque 'Aquí te espero'. Ahí echan su carreta." (I1)

"Ahí estuvo Fulano, con la misma carretilla de siempre, de la inseguridad." (I6)

(2) "No le pares bolas a lo que dijo Zutano. Eso es pura carreta." (I7)

Metaphor, based on a comparison between the constantly turning wheels of the cart and the style of speech referred to : continuous and constantly returning to the same point.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of continual repetition by comparison with repetitive physical motion.

Objectification of a human activity.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) pejorative expression

(2) deceit

Vehicle : (1) and (2) artefacts, travel

This sense is similar to the standard use of la carretilla mentioned in the dictionary entries, in that it involves the idea of continuous, less than thoughtful speech, but it does not entail the notion of reciting from memory.

CASTALIA, EL

Policeman

Derivs : none

e.g. "Claro que naturalmente ahora que salió la nueva gaseosa, ya no se llaman (los policías) ni tombo ni aguacate sino castalia. Y si vistieran de azul turquí se le ⁽¹⁾ llamaría Royal Crown Cola." (Il)

Metaphor, based on similarity of colour, Castalia being a brand of fizzy pop which is a similar shade of green to that of the policeman's uniform.

Foregrounding of the policeman's appearance as opposed to his function.

Objectification of person.

A very topical reference, as the term came into use soon after the drink was launched with a massive advertising campaign.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle : drink

cf. aguacate, el; ley, el; tombo, el.

(1) For comment on this use of singular le where plural les would be expected, cf. Cuervo § 335, p. 346.

CASTILLO, EL

Marihuana

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

e.g. "Por ejemplo, yo tengo una camisa como Ud., voy a fumarme una cosa de ésas, yo me la quito porque sé que ya comienzan las semillitas a 'pum', 'pum', castillos artificiales, revólver. Por eso que le decían castillo en un tiempo." (11)

Metaphor, referring to the standard use of castillo to mean 'firework' and based on similarity of sound and appearance.

The comparison foregrounds a secondary characteristic of marihuana at the expense of its main function as a drug. and involves normalization.

Middle and lower classes, mainly young people.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : artefacts

It is interesting to note that the speaker in the example regards

the use of castillo as a thing of the past, whereas, in my experience, it is still quite commonly used by those who are only on the fringe of the drug scene. This is a clear example of the tendency for expressions coined in a particular group of people to pass out of favour with that group once they gain acceptance on a broader scale.

cf. hierba, la; monte, el.

CIGARRÓN, EL

Homosexual

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

DF : "(Costa) marica. Tal vez sea alteración de "bujarrón".

FLIII : no entry, but, cf. mierdero : "maricón."

FLIV : "sodomita".

e.g. "Al marica se le dice cigarrón porque le gusta meterse en
la mierda." (I22)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity (the literal sense of cigarrón, in Barranquilla, is not 'grasshopper' but 'dung-beetle') and taking full advantage of all the connotations, literal and figurative, of the word mierda. An interesting example of the Barranquillero's love of word-play and a clear illustration of the contempt in which homosexuals are generally held.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : sex, pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. loca, la; mariposo, el.

CIPOTE

Augmentative adjective, always used attributively and placed before the noun

Derivs : syn. cipotudo (placed after the noun)

DRAE : no related sense

A : Col., "algo grande, abultado o disforme."

S : Ven., "fig. término bajo, por miembro viril."

Su : "Una voz cuya fealdad salta a la vista. Se usa en Andalucía de modo que no me atrevo a comunicar con el lector, mas en nuestra región vale en estilo ponderativo algo grande, abultado o disforme, v.gr. : un cipote de casa.

De "cipote" se derivó "cipotazo", que en lenguaje figurado vale golpe : del primer "cipotazo" me gané más de cien pesos."

DF : "(Costa) Cosa muy grande o deforme." cipotudo : "(Costa) Dícese de las personas o cosas muy grandes, de tamaño extraordinario."

FLIV : "(en la costa caribe) cosa muy grande o deforme; bonito, bello, e.g. cipote de plátano : 'muy grande', cipote de mujer : 'muy atractiva, hermosa', cipote de película : muy interesante'."

GI : "se usa (...) con valor despectivo : "Este muchacho del cipote me tiene harta."

Gu : "Miembro viril del hombre (campo)."

Bes : "pop. Órgano sexual masculino."

e.g. "Cipote calor que está haciendo, ¿cierto?" (I15)

"Se ve tan bonita pero tiene una cipote anemia que se está muriendo."

(I6)

"Y ese carro tan cipotudo ¿de quien es?"

(117)

Metaphor, originally, but which has now, as pointed out by Sundheim and Flórez (1) lost its sexual connotations. It seems probable that Sundheim's dislike of the word stemmed from a hangover from these connotations which are no longer in evidence. It is now used only in its augmentative sense and is in no way considered obscene. Another change is that it is now used as an adjective, attributed directly to a noun, as in the examples, without the use of a preposition.

I have not come across the use of cipotazo to which Sundheim refers.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : augmentative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body

cf. verraco (1)

(1) Flórez IV : 119

COCACCIO, EL

Teenager of somewhat frivolous mentality, teenybopper

Derivs : none

DF : "El sentido más generalizado es de glaxo o petimetre, jovencito o jovencita muy amanerados en su modo de vestir o en sus modales."

FII : "muchachas y muchachos frívolos, huecos, tontos, lechuguinos, superficiales, antipáticos."

e.g. "--¿Qué tal estuvo la fiesta? (I6)

--¡Fatal! Puros cocacólitos de 16 años." (I7)

Metaphorical neologism based on the name Coca Cola and then transferred by metonymy from the drink to the person who consumes it, and indicating similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : drink

cf. sardino, el.

COCO, EL

- (1) The head
- (2) The brain

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : "Nav., cabeza."; Ant., Col., Guat., Perú, "despect. coca, cholla, cabeza."

S : "Por extensión, en varios países, la cabeza, el cráneo, la cholla."

FlIII : "cabeza"

GI : no entry, but, la coca : "la cabeza."

BN : "Cabeza; inteligente, perspicaz."

Gu : no entry, but, la coca : "Cabeza."

e.g. (1) "Imagínate que mi hermano tuvo un choque con el carro y se dio duro en el coco." (An1)

(2) "Bueno, cuadro, eso se llama, tú sabes y vaina, retentiva en el coco." (I1)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape and possibly also of structure, i.e. a hard exterior shell containing a soft interior.

The comparison foregrounds the physical form of the head as opposed to its function, although, as indicated in the dictionary references and in example (2), it is also used to refer to intellectual capacity;

"Fulano tiene mucho coco", for example, refers not to a person with a large head but to a person of considerable intelligence.

Used to denote intelligence, it involves concretization of an abstract concept.

Objectification of a part of the human body (1), and of a human activity (2).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) parts of the body
(2) psychological characterisation

Vehicle : (1) and (2) food

In spite of its fairly wide geographical distribution, the expression may be considered to contain a local reference to the extent that it is, in my experience, much less used in the highland areas of Colombia where the plant is not found.

COLA, DAR

To make someone angry

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with dar, no related sense. colear : "En las corridas de toros, sujetar la res por la cola, por lo común cuando embiste al picador caído."

A : not with dar, no related sense, but colear : Col., Ven., "Incomodar, hostigar."

S : not with dar, no related sense, but colear : Col., "Fastidiar, incomodar, hostigar, perseguir, jorobar, moler."

Cu : no entry, but, colear : "Incomodar, hostigar, perseguir, moler, amolar."

DF : no entry, but, colear : "Incomodar, hostigar."

e.g. "Entonces, al día siguiente me encontré con el pelao, me dio cola, le tiré un ladrillo; casi que le mato." (IL)

Metaphor, based on the literal meaning of colear, comparing the angered person with the angered bull. Attention is here focused on the receiver of the action rather than on the actor.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

cf. bloque, voler el; piedra, sacar la (2).

COLON

Mad, crazy

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "El patillero cabrero escuchaba el vacilón. Pendiente de
aquel grosero se chocó con un camión - colón, colón, y hasta
allí llegó." (M5)

Backslang, from loco.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

cf. sollado (v. sollarse).

COMBO, EL

Group of friends, gang (in the non-violent sense)

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "-A mí me gusta andar solo. A mí no me gusta andar acompañado. (11)

-¿No te gusta andar en combo? (121)

- No, no, no, no, no." (11)

A somewhat complex derivation is involved here. The present sense is an extension of meaning from the metaphorical use of combo to refer to a group of musicians ⁽¹⁾, this latter being, to my knowledge, the only other sense of the word frequently used in Barranquilla. In Latin America generally, the literal use of combo shows a metonymic extension from 'sledgehammer' to 'blow'. I would suggest that the derivation from this to 'group of musicians' is based on the idea of the drum beat, but the intermediate steps (if any) do not appear to have been recorded.

The original metaphor involves objectification of persons, but the present sense, as an extension thereof, does not.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : music

- (1) e.g. Two Barranquilla pop groups are known as Pastor López y su Combo and Combo Lord Rhaburn. This usage is apparently West Indian in origin having spread to Barranquilla through the popularity of West Indian music.

COMERSE (a alguien)

To make love to someone

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

FLIV : "(un hombre a una mujer) Poseerla sexualmente."

BN : "Realizar el acto sexual."

e.g. "Se comió a la mujer de Fulano, y cuando él se enteró, ise armó
uuuna pelotera!" (19)

"Dice que aquí en Barranquilla no se la comen sino las amebas." (18)

Metaphor, based on the universal association between eating and sex.

An interestingly explicit reference to this association which is often expressed in more covert ways through myth and ritual (1). In Barranquilla, it is used with female as well as male subjects. The second example demonstrates the ample opportunities for word play provided by this expression.

Objectification of the person who is object of the verb.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : food

cf. cular (v. culo, el); mamar; polvo, echar un; tirar.

CONEJO, EL

A man who uses the services of a prostitute without paying

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

Su : "Del francés hemos tomado "poner conejo" que vale faltar a un compromiso adquirido."

DF : "Engaño, estafa. " poner conejo : "Engañar, estafar, robar, no pagar lo ofrecido por algún servicio."

FLIV : poner conejo : "Eludir, a veces maliciosamente, el pago de un servicio (comidas, bebidas, transporte, etc.)"

Tr : "ladrón (caliche)."

Bes : "pop. Partes genitales de la mujer."

Ce : "cojón, coño."

e.g. "Ese tipo ya se hizo fama de conejo. Ya no le trabaja ninguna"(An5)

Metaphor, combining the sexual connotations traditionally associated with rabbits (cf. Besses, Cela, also English bunny girl, to breed like rabbits, etc. (1)) with the notion of unreliability originally taken from the French and thence extended to refer to downright dishonesty (Larousse : poser un lapin, "ne pas venir à un rendez-vous que l'on a fixé à quelqu'un").

(1) Leach (1972 : 56-58), also suggests an etymological association between coney and cunt.

Animalization of person.

Lower class.

Tenor : sex, deceit

Vehicle : animals

CORALIBE, PL

Country bumpkin

Derivs : syn. el coral

DR&E : no entry. coral : no related sense

A : no entry. coral : no fig.

S : no fig. coral : no fig.

DF : "2. (Costa) Persona de piel morena y de grande estatura, por alusión a la madera del coralibe. 3. (Costa) Persona a quien no le sienta el vestido; *gañán*."

coral : "Carmin." (carmin : "Planta fitolacácea de fruto tintóreo.")

e.g. "El tipo es como medio coralibe. Habla como un campesino."

(An4 (student))

"No vayas a invitar al coral ese; de pronto nos daña la fiesta con sus metidas de pata."

(An1 (student))

Metaphor, based on the rural origin of the person concerned and also on the physical attributes of the wood of the tree. Apart from the dark colour mentioned by Di Filippo, it is also very hard wood and the country person is generally considered to be duro, i.e. "thick", "stupid".

Coral appears to refer to some kind of ink plant ⁽¹⁾, and I would suggest that its use in the present sense is based mainly on assonantal association with coralibe.

Concretization of a mental attribute by comparison with a physical one.

Objectification of person.

Mainly used by students.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : plants

cf. agropecuario, el; guayacán, el; incora, el.

- (1) cf. Di Filippo's entry, also Santamaría, coral : "Mex. planta fitolacácea (...) que produce una bayita que contiene un zumo rojo de sangre, usado como colorante y a lo cual debe su nombre. (...) Llámanse también (...) coralillo carmín y coralillo en Centro América." Contrast DRAL, coral : "Cuba. Arbusto leguminoso de hojuelas alternas, ovales y obtusas y flores pequeñas en espiga."

CORONAR

Successfully to carry out a robbery

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. perfeccionar, completar una obra."

A : as DRAE

e.g. "Un muchacho por ahí que cometió otra jugada, robar una
licuadora. Será que las muchachas y las amas de casa se fueron
pa' juntar la comida, dio el traicionazo y la coronó y yo llegué
a saber." (11)

Restriction of meaning from the metaphorical sense cited by DRAE
and Alonso, which in turn is based on the use of the word meaning
'to queen' in chess or draughts. The combined metaphor and restriction
foregrounds the notions of success and acquisition.

Normalization is also involved.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : gambling

Cant.

CORRONCHA/-A

Uncouth, rough, lacking in taste and social graces

Derivs : none

A : Col., "Recio, áspero, enjuto, encanijado."

S : Col., "fig. y fam. Áspero de genio, intratable, hosco."

Su : "(Barb. de Río Hacha) Seco, enjuto, encanijado."

DF : "(Costa) Intratable, de genio áspero. Persona tarda, despaciosa, poco lista en el hacer y en el decir."

Al : "Persona tarda, despaciosa, poco lista en el hacer y en el decir."

e.g. "Ay, hija, come bien. No seas tan corroncha."

.(16)

Metaphor, probably based on corroncha, 'scale', rather than corroncho, the name of a fish. Roughness of character, in particular the superficial aspects of character, is compared with roughness of physical exterior. The other senses cited by the dictionaries seem, at least in Barranquilla, to have given way to the present sense which is in extremely common use. There has also been a change in part of speech as both corroncha and corroncho used literally are nouns whereas in the present sense the word is an adjective.

Concretization of a mental attribute.

Animalization of a person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

CUADRO

Friend

Deriva : v. cuadrarse (con alguien) -- to enter into a serious relationship with a member of the opposite sex

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

Su : no fig.

DF : "Camarada, amigo, compañero de diversiones."

Bol : "amigo"

W : "compañero."

e.g. "Hombre, cuadro, yo te diré de que esto me sucedió, fue unas espinas (...) y entonces se me infectaron." (II)
"¿Supiste que mi hermana se cuadró con Fulano? Ya lo presenta como su novio." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on the use of cuadrar meaning 'to fit', 'to match'.

Mental 'matching' is compared with physical matching. Cuadro is generally used in the vocative, is invariable whatever the sex of the person addressed, and does not have the sexual connotations involved in cuadrarse.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Concretization of an abstract concept and objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. mano, vale

CUENTO. CUMAR EL

To believe a lie

Derivs : none

e.g. "Y del tipo ese se comió el cuento de que tú tenías marido
francés?" (I6)

Metaphor, comparing mental with physical acceptance (cf. English
to swallow).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract mental process.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : food

CUERO, EL

Something or someone held in contempt, or considered to be of little or no value.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : Col., Ecuad., P.R., Ven., "despect. moretriz vulgar." Ecuad., Mex., "Hembra, mujer de placer." Ecuad., Mex., "Concubina." Cuba, "Mujer vieja." Col., "Solterona jamona."

S : Mex., "Putá, prostituta, ramera. adj. fig. dicese de la mujer hermosa o de prendas seguras para el amor. En algunas partes del país, también manceba o concubina."

Su : "U. incorrectamente como sinónimo de vejestorio, carcamal, y respecto a las mujeres a veces por jamona. También se dice de toda persona flaca, arrugada y de mal color."

DF : "Mujer ajada, político desacreditado."

FLIV : no entry, but, descuerar : "fam. y vulg. Hablar mal de una persona."

Al : "mujer ajada, político descredito etc. El epíteto es vulgarísimo (...). La acepción ordinaria del vocablo es, en efecto, la de concubina, en sentido despectivo por añadidura; pero puede adjetivarse y ser regido por el adverbio mui (sic) a modo de superlativo. Un trabajo cuero. Eso está mui cuero."

Gu : sacar el cuero : "Hablar mal de una persona ausente."

M : no entry, but, cuercar : R.Pl., Cuba, "Hablar mal de una persona."

e.g. "Yo soy Juniorista. (...) Mi hermano me decía : "Aquí el Junior ⁽¹⁾ vale cuero" y yo callada."

Extension of meaning from the metaphorical use of cuero to refer to a woman, in particular a prostitute. The low esteem in which prostitutes are held, originally peripheral to the meaning of the word, has become the focus of attention and cuero may now be used not only of any kind of person, as indicated by Sundheim and Di Filippo, but also of objects, activities, etc. It is generally used with the verbs ser and valer.

Concretization of an abstract quality.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : sex

valer cuero, cf. verga, valer

(1) Junior is the name of Barranquilla's football team.

CUJI

Mean, miserly, tight-fisted

Derive : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Col., "tacaño, mezquino."

S : Col., Ven., jugar cuji : "expr. fig. y fam. jugar dinero imaginario, jugar al fiado, apostar sin tener dinero."

Su : "Nombre de una especie de aromo (...) Como la madera de este árbol es sumamente dura, y duro en lenguaje castizo vale tanto como tacaño o mezquino, se dijo "Fulano es más duro que un cuji." y andando el tiempo llegaron a ser sinónimas las dos palabras que acabo de subrayar. Lo cual es harto extraño ya que entre nosotros no se le llama cuji a dicha leguminosa, como acontece en Venezuela, de donde tal vez hayamos tomado este pintoresco barbarismo."

DF : "Avaro, miserable, roñoso, ruin. Se usa especialmente en la Costa."

FLIV : "vulg. Costa. Tacaño."

e.g. "El papá de él es tan cuji que ni pa' comer le da."

(An2 (cleaner))

Metaphor, based on similarity between the inflexibility of the wood of the plant and that of the miserly person. A mental attribute

is compared with a physical one, possibly, as suggested by Sundheim, through the intermediary of the similarly metaphorical use of duro. As the same author points out, the case is interesting in that cují in its literal sense is not used in Barranquilla and is unknown to the extent that I was unable to ascertain its literal meaning from informants, even those with higher education.

There has also been a change in part of speech: what was originally a noun is here used as an adjective.

Concretization of an abstract quality.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : plants

CULEBRA, LA

Debt

Deriva : ganarse la/una culebra -- to get into debt; matar la culebra --
to pay off a debt.

DRAE : no related sense

A : Col., Ecuad., Perú, "Cuenta por cobrar."

S : Col., "En estilo festivo, popular, deuda, trampa, droga."

Su : no related sense

DF : "Deuda en estilo festivo." enculebrarse : "Endeudarse, llenarse
de deudas."

FlIV : "fam. y jocoso. Deuda, acreedor. Tener (uno) muchas culebras."

e.g. "No puedo, hijo. Tengo una culebra que me ganó hace meses y
que me tiene loco. No quiero gastar nada de plata hasta que
la pueda matar." (14)

Metaphor, based on the dangerousness of the snake, and, even more,
on the use of the snake as a symbol of malice and evil. A metaphor
which is clearly highly successful in that it is unusually productive
of derivative forms and has achieved a fusion of tenor and vehicle
which imbues the former with life and allows the use of a verb like
matar without giving the impression that the metaphor has in any way
become stretched or far-fetched. For the use of ganar with an object
referring to something undesirable, cf. ganar (q.v.).

A functional metaphor based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker.

Animalization of object.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : animals

natar la culebra, cf. bus, bajarse del

CULO, EL

(1) Vagina

(2) Woman

Derivs : culear - to make love .

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

FLIII : "vulva". culiar : "realizar el coito."

Al : "Muliebres Membrum, praecipue externa pars sive vulva."

EN : no entry, but, el culito : "Mujer, hembra."

BA : no entry, culear : "copular."

Gu : no entry, but, la culiada : "Mujer que ha perdido su virginidad. /Acto sexual." culiar : "Practicar el coito."

e.g. (1)"A tí, ¿qué te importa con quién me acuesto? El culo es mío, ¡carajo!", dice ella." (Ill)

(2) "Así que íte levantaste un culo anoche, cuadro?" (I3)

"Yo digo la que estuvo culeando conmigo anoche." (Anl)

Metaphor, based in its first sense on similarity of form and possibly also on contiguity. I would suggest that it is also partly due to the social factor that many young girls in Barranquilla consent to anal intercourse in order to preserve their virginity. If this is so, it would seem likely that the verb preceded the metaphorization of the noun, which would then be a functional metaphor. In its second sense, metaphor based on synecdoche.

It is interesting to note that culo has become so established in the present sense that it is very rarely used in the sense of 'anus' for which the word jopo (q.v.) is used.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : (1) parts of the body

(1) and (2) sex

Vehicle : (1) and (2) parts of the body

culcar, cf. comerse; mamar; polvo, echar un; tirar.

¡CULO (de algo)!

Exclamation indicating a high degree of praise

Derivs : none

e.g. "¡Culo de casa la que tiene tu cuñado!, ¿cierto? ¡Bellísima!" (An4)

Metaphor, involving the phenomenon of reversal of values which sometimes occurs in slang, whereby an expression which is generally highly pejorative is used in an appreciative way or vice versa (cf. verga, ser la (q.v.) and verga, valer (q.v.)). The main force of this expression is to indicate a strong emotional reaction on the part of the speaker, which may be positive or negative according to the situation.

Concretization of an abstract quality.

Lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body

CHÁCARAS, LAS

Testicles

Derivs : none

DRAE : Col., "monedero,"

A : Col., Pan., Ven., "bolsa, garniel."

S : Col., Ven., "Bolsa, garniel o cosa por el estilo."

Su : "Esta voz malsonante vale entre nosotros funda o estuche de una cosa pequeña: de las gafas, p.e. Tiene además un significado que no creo decoroso mencionar."

Cu : "bolsa, garniel."

DF : "Usado en plural, el escroto del hombre. De uso especialmente en la Costa."

FLIII : "testículos." la chácara : "vulva." cf. also bolsas, mochilas, taleras, all in the sense "testículos."

e.g. "¿Te sabes el cuento del "pájaro uy uy uy"? Bueno, ves, es un pájaro de patas corticas y chácaras grandes y cuando va a aterrizar hace . "¡uy uy uy uy uuuy!" (accompanied by gesture indicating frenzied wing-flapping)." (I12)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape, and foregrounding the physical form of the testicles as opposed to their function.

Objectification of a part of the human body.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body, sex

Vehicle : artefacts

CHAMBEAR, LA

Job, work

Deriva : v. chambear

DRAE : no fig., Col., Ven., "zanja."

A : Col., Ven., "zanja." Guat., Mex., "trabajo, y ocupación."

S : Mex., "trato, trabajo, negocio." Col., "fam. zanja".

chambear : Mex., "ocuparse en trabajo provisional, precario o de corta remuneración o escaso producto." Col., "zanjar, abrir zanja, hacer zanja."

Cu : "Zanja o gavia." chambear : "Entre nosotros chambear es hacer zanja."

Bol : "el quechuismo quiere decir terrón, pero la acepción que tiene entre nosotros es la de zanja natural o artificial, que de común sirve de lindero."

EN : "Empleo, trabajo, ocupación." chambear : "Trabajar, ocuparse en una labor permanente."

M : no entry, chambear : Mex., "Ocuparse en algún trabajo o chamba de poco estipendio."

e.g. "Si acaso un trabajo, una chamba, así, pero no robar, ni nada." (11)

"Imagínate que lo echaron del puesto, y eso después de 20 años de estar chambeando allí." (An5)

Extension of meaning, from one particular kind of work to work in general. It always refers to paid employment rather than to any

independent work of any kind and is not used in the normalizing metaphors of the underworld, hence its use in the example to clarify the meaning of the ambiguous trabajo, (cf. trabajar (q.v.)).

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : work

Vehicle : work

¡CHANFLE!

Exclamation indicating surprise, triumph, or any other emotion.

Derive : none

e.g. "¡Chanfle! ¡Qué susto me diste!" (I9)

"¡Chanfle! ¡Te cogí!, ¡cierto?" (Anl)

Loan-word borrowed as a direct result of the popularity of the Mexican television programme El chapulín colorado, in which it is used with great frequency. (1)

I have been unable to ascertain the usual meaning of the word (if any) in Mexico.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general exclamatory

Vehicle : loan-word

(1) For discussion of the influence of the mass media, v. Appendix.

CHAPA, LA

Face

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : "Mancha de color rojo que se ponían artificialmente las mujeres en el rostro."

S : "color rosado fuerte de las mejillas, principalmente en la mujeres, y al natural."

Su : "U. también de manera incorrecta cuando se dice por dentadura postiza."

DF : "Cerradura. 2. Dentadura postiza."

FLIV : "Costa. Caja, dentadura postiza."

e.g. "Se veía más cómico; tenía la chapa así hinchada como si tuviera paperas." (An4)

Metaphor, by a process of synecdoche from the use of chapa, meaning 'false teeth' which is its most frequently used sense in Barranquilla. This, in its turn, seems to be a metaphor from the sense 'lock', based on similarity of appearance (bright and shiny) and activity (opening and shutting).

Objectification of human body.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. bolsa, la

CHAPETO

Drunk

Derivs : none

DRAE : no entry, but, la chapeta : "mancha de color encendido que suele salir en las mejillas."

A : as DRAE

S : no entry, but, el chapeto : Mex., "fam. chapa de color en las mejillas."

BN : no entry, but, las chapas : "Mejillas requemadas por el intenso frío de las serranías y que se mantienen rosadas."

e.g. "--¿Qué tiene Fulano? (An4)

-Estuvo chapeto anoche y está con un guayabo ..." (An2)

Metaphor, based on a metonymic process of effect (red cheeks) for cause (drunkenness), and foregrounding the appearance of the person concerned.

Lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : parts of the body

CHEVERE

Expression of praise and/or pleasure - great, fantastic, marvellous

Derivs : none

DRAE : Ecuad., P.R., Ven., "Primoroso, gracioso, bonito." Col.,
"Excelente."

A : Mex., "Magnífico, muy bueno o bonito."

S : "Tabasco, elegante, correcto."

DF : "Excelente, muy bueno. Chévere es el título de un poema
del cubano Nicolás Guillén y se refiere a, un ritmo afrocubano
especial."

BN : "Elegante, bonito, llamativo."

e.g. "Cuando he tenido plata y estaba bacano y cheverísimo." (11)

"¡Qué chévere! Terminemos con esa frase." (16)

Apparently a loan-word from an African language - I have not been able to ascertain which - adopted first into Cuban Spanish (cf. Di Filippo), from where it has spread to other Spanish-speaking countries, mainly in the Caribbean area.

Middle and lower classes.

As suggested by the dictionary entries the word is used throughout Colombia; it is, however, in my experience, of much more frequent

occurrence on the coast than in the interior.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : loan-word

CHICHARRA, LA

Stub of marihuana

Derivs : syn. el chicharrón

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

Su : no fig.

e.g. "Se le dice chicharra porque cuando se está acabando, aquello, hace 'pjjj' (accompanied by a gesture indicating an explosion) que una de las causas por lo que se conoce el vicioso es la quemadura así en la camisa. (...) Ahora le dicen chicharrón. Se deriva y, además, al final queda grasa." (11)

Metaphor, based on supposed similarity of activity. Tradition has it in Colombia that the cicada sings just before death which takes place by bursting. (1) Anything which 'goes off with a bit of a bang' may be said to reventarse como una chicharra; hence the use of chicharra to refer to a stub of marihuana which contains little explosive seeds. The synonym chicharrón is used by assonantal association with chicharra and also makes reference to the crackling sound of the seeds, and, as mentioned in the example, to the grease which is left.

Foregrounding of a secondary characteristic of marihuana.

Used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : animals

- (1) This tradition is probably the result of a confusion between the death of the cicada and the stage in its life-cycle when the mature insect 'bursts out' of the shell of the nymph.

CHINCHE, SL

Persistently annoying person, pest, pain in the neck

Derivs : none

DRAE : "persona chinchosa". chinchoso : "fig. y fam. Dícese de la persona molesta y pesada."

A : as DRAE

S : Mex., "persona que hace perder el tiempo a otro."

Su : "fig. persona molesta."

DF : "Persona chinchosa."

BN : "Antipático, desabrido."

Gu : "Persona insistente y pesada, que termina por fastidiar y enojar."

e.g. "Ese tipo sí que no nos deja en paz. Es un chinche total." (17)

Metaphor, based on the nuisance created by both insect and person.

Reference is made here to the insect's persistence, to its bite and to the unpleasant smell it makes when squashed.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

CHIQUEITO, EL.

Anus

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

L : "ano."

e.g. "Tengo una inflamación en el chiquito que me tiene loca. Cada vez que voy al baño, ¡me da un dolor!" (16)

Abbreviation of el hueco chiquito. The anus is 'the small one' by comparison with the vagina (1), anal intercourse being of common occurrence in Barranquilla (cf. culo, el (q.v.)). The expression is based on function.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body, sex

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. jopo, el; red, el; orto, el; revolbicho, el.

(1) cf. FLIII, jopo grande : "vulva."

CHIVO. MT.

Nosey, interfering person, busy-body

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

Fliv : no entry, but, la chiva : "En la prensa, noticia novedosa."

BN : "Joven afeminado u homosexual."

Gu : "Trabajador inhábil."

Bes : "Delator, soplón."

e.g. "El chivo ese estuvo metido allí otra vez, preguntando todo
lo que no le interesa." (I21)

Metaphor, based on a view of the goat as an animal which wanders into
the house uninvited, and unwelcome.

A functional metaphor based on activity.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

It is interesting to note that the senses given by the dictionaries for other Spanish-speaking areas are all different but are all pejorative metaphors for a person. Flórez's sense of la chiva is presumably related to the present sense in that it involves the notion of an unexpected presence.

cf. pato, el; sapo, el.

CHULETA, DAR

To kill

Derivs : syn. chuletear

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

e.g. "Dio chuleta a un policia y lo encanaron de por vida." (I21)

"Como este nombre se da al que anda chuleteando mucho.

Chuletear quiere decir matar." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity, referring particularly to knifing someone between the ribs but used for any method of killing.

A functional metaphor.

Animalization/Objectification of the person who is object of the verb. (In that the carcass falling under the butcher's knife may be regarded as either animal or object.)

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : food

cf. bajar (2); quebrar

Cant.

CHUTEARSE

To inject oneself with drugs, to shoot drugs, to get a fix

Deriva : none

S : no refl., no related sense

e.g. "Con él no se puede hablar. Siempre está en las nubes - anda
chuteándose todo el tiempo." (I21)

Anglicism, first adopted in the field of football and then extended
into the field of drugs by analogy with the slang use of the English
to shoot in the same context.

Used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : loan-word

DAMAR

To wound

Derived : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "Ya el man, al ver que ha dañado el policia, le tiemblan un poquito las patas." (11)

Restriction of meaning, from the concept of damage in general to the specific area of damage to the human body.

Objectification of the human body and normalization of a criminal activity.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

DESCRESTAR

To impress, to make a good/strong impression

Derivs : none

DRAE : Col., "engañar a una persona."

A : Col., "timar, enganar."

Su : "(Barb.) timar, enganar, embaucar, estafar, trapacear, trapalear, trapazar, trapisondear."

Cu : descrestar a uno : "engañarlo o pegársela una vez."

DF : "Entre jugadores de gallos es bien sabido que al de pelea hay que cortarle la cresta, pues si no, será el animalito una pobre victima de todo golpe de su adversario. Así, tomando efecto por causa, decimos que una persona es descrestable cuando es ingenua, es decir, cuando tiene asidero para que todo pillo haga de él cuanto quiera. Descrestar es asombrar o enganar a un ingenuo o novicio; es decir, tomar al pobre gallo por su cresta y de un picotazo dejarlo sin ella perplejo. Y meterle o darle a Zutano una descrestada es dejarlo patitieso."

FLI : "defraudar, enganar."

e.g. "¡Cómo habla de bien esta niña! Estoy descrestado. (I23)

~Todos estamos descrestados." (I6)

Metaphor, based on similarity of relations and referring, as indicated by Di Filippo, to the removal of a cock's comb by its opponent.

In Barranquilla, the word has, in my experience, lost a good deal of its pejorative force and is frequently used in the sense 'to make an impression' without involving the notion of deceit.

A functional metaphor.

Concretization of an abstract mental process by comparison with a physical one.

Animalization of both subject and object.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

DESMARCARSE

To go away

Derivs : none

A : no refl., no fig.

e.g. "Ay, yo ya estoy jarta con esta nota. ¡Vamos a desmarcarnos!" (Anl)

Metaphor, based on its use of a football player meaning 'to get away from the opponent who is marking him'.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : physical action

Vehicle : sport

cf. pisarse

ELEGANTE COMO EL ELEFANTE

Elegant, well dressed

Derivs : none

e.g. "-¿No viste a Fulana, anoche? Bellísima estuvo. (I7)

-¡Claro! Ella es elegante como el elefante." (An7)

Assonantal association. The meaning relies entirely on that of elegante, elefante serving the purely playful purpose of the enjoyment of rhyme, rhythm and irony.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. in form, bacán como el alacrán; hermoso como el oso; legal como Pascual; Raimundo y todo el mundo; tranquilo como Camilo.

EMBARAJARLA

To explain a previous statement which has not been clearly understood

Derivs : none

e.g. "No te he captado bien la idea. Embarajamela otra vez." (I21)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity presenting an idea in a different way is compared with presenting the cards in a different order, (embarajar is the usual word for 'to shuffle' in Barranquilla). The object pronoun la presumably refers to la idea, which may be expressed or merely understood.

A functional metaphor.

Concretization of a mental process by comparison with a physical one.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor :

Vehicle : gambling

ENFLETARSE

- (1) To experience hallucinations under the effect of drugs, to trip
- (2) To become deeply involved in an activity

Derivs : n. la enfletada - trip

e.g. (1) "Abro la regadera, y no me meto, la torpeza, que me meto, si no me quedo enfletado." (11)

"Con el punto rojo ese, uno ve como rayos ultravioleta y ve la ciudad alumbrada así que parece que en todas las casas hubiera bares o hubieran así letreros luminosos.

Bien cruel, oíste, una enfletada de esas en pleno día." (11)

(2) "Ella se ha enfletado en lo de la música y ahora no tiene tiempo para más nada." (121)

Metaphorical neologism, based, in form, on fletar, and, in meaning, on the metaphorical uses of viaje (q.v.), which in turn are based on the metaphorical usage of the English trip, firstly to refer to the effects of hallucinogenic drugs and then, by extension, to any activity in which one becomes intensely involved.

Concretization of a mental experience or activity by comparison with a physical one.

Used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : travel

ESNAQUI, EL

Corner

Derivs : none

BN : "esquina."

e.g. "Hombre, loco, espérame en el esnaqui." (11)

Backslang from esquina.

Lower class.

The expression is of group significance, as among the lower class the street corner is an important centre of social activity.

Tenor :

ESPATURRARSE

To be arrested by the police

Derivs : none

A : Chile, "Despaturrar"; Ast., "Despatarrar."

S : no refl., no fig.

e.g. "--El viejo ese, ¿ya no está trabajando? (An5)

--No, no, no. Se espaturró. Está en la muni." (An5)

Metaphor, based on similarity of relations. An unexpected and undesirable change in social/legal position, leaving one helpless to continue with normal activity is compared with a similar change in physical position. (Espaturrarse is the standard Barranquilla variant of despatarrarse.)

Normalization is also involved.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

ESTAR EN NADA

To be out, out of touch, lacking in aptitude and/or style

Derivs : ant. estar en todo - to be in, talented and stylish

DRAE : no entry. estar en todo : "Atender a un tiempo a muchas cosas, sin embarazarse con la muchedumbre de ellas."

A : as DRAE

e.g. "El cine de aquí sí que está en nada, oye. Super-mal hechas las películas." (I6)

"Te digo que nosotros estamos en todo. Estuve leyendo unas revistas de arte gringas, y ellos están apenas empezando a hacer lo que estamos haciendo nosotros." (I7)

Formula, in which the frequent use of a particular turn of phrase in a certain context establishes a specific meaning for it; in the case of estar en todo a different meaning from the standard one.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative and appreciative expressions.

ESTOPPING

Murder for financial motives

Derivs : none

e.g. "Lo matan por la plata. Eso se llama estopping. Ahí mismo lo
dice - stop - pare." (11)

Anglicism from to stop. An interesting example of how the meaning
of a word may change on adoption into another language, in this case
by restriction.

Normalization is also involved.

Underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : loan-word

Cant.

FAMILIA MIRANDINA, LA

Spectator, someone who observes an activity, particularly a sport,
without taking part

Derivs : syn. la Familia Miranda

e.g. "-¿Ud. también juega? (I2)

-Nada. Pura Familia Miranda. (I3)

-Ah . . . Mirandiña." (I2)

Loan-word from Brazilian Portuguese, involving antonomasia which
lends immediacy and a personal note to a generalizing expression.
It seems highly likely that the present sense is based on assonantal
association with mirar since the word apparently has no related sense
in Portuguese. (1)

Used mainly by sports enthusiasts.

Tenor : sport

Vehicle : loan-word

(1) De Figueiredo gives the following entries : Mirandino, "Relativo
a Sá de Miranda ou às suas obras."; Mirandês, "Relativo à cidade
de Miranda."

FERCHO, EL

Driver

Derivs : none

H : "chofer (replana)"

e.g. "El fercho ese hijueputa casi que nos mata." (An4)

Backslang, from chofer.

Lower class.

Tenor : travel

FORCHO

Unattractive, undesirable (of people or things).

Derivs : none

e.g. "Yo ¿qué voy a salir con ese tipo tan forcho? ¡ Ni de vainas!" (Anl)

Neologism, the origin of which I have been unable to discover.

Lower class.

Tenor : pejorative expression

FRACA, LA

Shirt

Derivs : none

DRAE : no entry, but, el frac : "Vestidura de hombre que por delante llega hasta la cintura y por detrás tiene dos faldones más o menos anchos y largos."

A : as DRAE

e.g. "-¿Quién te dio la fraca esa? (I4)

-Esta camisa me la dio una evangélica." (I1)

Loan-word probably from French, though the origin is not entirely clear (DRAE derives it from the German der frack, Alonso from the English frock via the French le frac). Its metonymic change of meaning in Barranquilla has been accompanied by hispanicization of form and change of gender (presumably to match that of camisa).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : loan-word

cf. misaca, la

FRESCA, LA

Money

Derivs : none

A : no related sense

e.g. "Saca la fresca, cuadro. Ahí traen la cuenta." (I21)

Metaphor, based on a metonymic process of cause for effect - money is what makes you "fresco", 'relaxed', 'cool'.

Foregrounding of the purpose of money rather than the physical entity (contrast e.g. la plata).

An unusual case in that a physical object is referred to in terms of an abstract concept.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

FRIA, LA

Beer

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

- e.g. "-¿Ud. se toma una fria? (I2)
 - No, yo no puedo. (I5)
 -¿Por qué? (I2)
 - Estoy tomando unas pastillas." (I5)

Abbreviation of la cerveza fría. That attribute which is considered the most important or the most characteristic becomes sufficient to designate the object without need for the use of the noun (cf. English bitter, mild, etc.).

Foregrounding one particular characteristic, coldness.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : physical characterisation

FRÍO

Penniless, broke

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

Sa : no fig.

EM : estar frío : "No poseer dinero."

e.g. "-¿Me invitas a cine? (An1)

- No, no puedo. Estoy frío." (An4)

Metaphor, based on connotations of death, inactivity, horror, etc., associated with the adjective frío. It is always used with the verb estar.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : physical characterisation

estar frío, cf. olla, estar en la (2)

FRIGUEA

To upset someone, to freak someone out

Derivs : refl. friguarse - to freak (out); n. el frig - something
upsetting, disturbing

e.g. "Esa gente desconsiderada aJ que me friguea." (I6)

"Es muy bueno salir a la calle, ver los carteles, los
teatros, aunque no vaya a entrar uno, no quedarse situado
en una sola parte porque la persona se friguea." (I1)

"Ay, ¡qué fris! A mí me dejó temblando esa vaina." (I7)

Anglicism, from to freak. Although the form has become hispanicized,
the meaning is very close to that of the English.

Middle and lower classes, mainly among young people.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : loan-word

FUL

Very, very much, completely

Deriva : a ful / a lodo ful - at full speed

Su : "En Río Hacha se usa incorrectamente "a ful" como sinónimo de a fondo, a rique, en el fondo."

BN : "Velocidad.// Repleto, lleno. El omnibus estaba a ful de gente."

e.g. "El estadio estaba así, ful lleno." (I7)

"A mí me gusta ful esa música." (I17)

"El viaje nos duró una hora entera, y eso que el bus iba a ful." (I21)

Anglicism, involving extension of meaning and also a change in part of speech from adjective to adverb.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : superlative

Vehicle : loan-word

GALLINAZO, 1

Womanizer

Derivs : v. gallinacear - to chat someone up

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

EN : "Cente de color. Moreno./Cura, párroco./Carro patrullero.
/Arrasador, devastador."

e.g. "Cuidado con ese tipo, hija. Parece que él es medio gallinazo,
de pronto te hace sufrir." (An2)

"Hasta los profesores me gallinacean. ¡Me da una rabia!" (I6)

Metaphor. based on similarity of activity. The man is seen as
'preying' on the emotions of defenceless women (cf. English wolf).

A functional metaphor.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression
personal relations

Vehicle : animals

The senses given by Bendeaf Heyra for Peru provide an interesting point of comparison. The last two, like the present sense, are functional metaphors, while the first two are based on similarity of colour.

GANAR

To gain, acquire

Deriva : none

DRAE : "Lograr o adquirir una cosa; como la honra, el favor, la inclinación, la gracia."

A : as DRAE

S : no related sense

Su : no related sense

W : "obtener resultado de algún trabajo (in the sense 'robbery')."

Bes : "robar".

e.g. "Llegó tarde a la casa y ganó un regaño." (I6)

"Tengo una culebra que me ganó hace meses y que me tiene loco." (I4)

Extension of meaning, from the winning or acquisition of something desirable to acquisition or receiving of any kind, even of something definitely undesirable as in the examples.

Foregrounding of the passive role of the subject.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor :

Vehicle : gambling

GANCHO CIEGO, TIRAR EL

To request a loan, without warning and without knowing what the outcome will be

Derivs ; none

e.g. "-Me encontré en el centro con Fulano y me ha tirado el gancho ciego." (I21)

- ¿Y le prestaste? (I22)

- ¡Qué va! Yo no le voy a prestar a un man que apenas si lo conozco." (I21)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which presumably involves the notion of reaching out for something without being able to see it, (cf. English a shot in the dark).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Foregrounding of the uncertainty of the request rather than that which is requested.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle :

cf. varilla, tirar

GILBERTO, EL

Ingenuous person, fool

Derivs : none

W : no entry, but, gil : "marrano, campesino, montañero, individuo fácil de robar o de estafar."

BN : "Tonto, mentecato."

Gu : no entry, but, el gil : "Tonto, fácil de engañar." el giliberto : "Gil. (lunf.)"

Tr : "bobo, tonto, lelo. (caliche, lunf., replana y gíria.)"

Bei : no entry, but, gili : "tonto, bobo."

e.g. "Bueno, yo no sé, a mí me vieron cara de Gilberto porque me costó seiscientos y pico." (Il)

Antonomasia, based on gil, 'fool', which is found in slang, especially cant, all over Latin America. According to Beinhauer and Wagner, gil is derived from the gipsy sil.

The use of antonomasia serves to revitalize a well-worn expression.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : antonomasia, loan-word

Cant.

GOMAS, LAS

Rubber-soled shoes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no related sense

BN : "Zapatillas de jebe."

e.g. "A los (zapatos) de caucho también le dicen gomas, caminantes." (Il)

Metaphor, based on a metonymic process of material for object made therefrom.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. caminantes, los; pisa-suaves, los.

Cant.

GORRA, IR DE

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : n. el gorrero -- one who drinks at someone else's expense

DRAE : de gorra : "adv. fam. a costa ajena" el gorrero : "que vive o come a costa ajena."

A : as DRAE

S : de gorra : "fig. sin pagar nada, a costa ajena."

DF : gorrear : "vivir de gorra."

BN : gorrear : "Aprovechar astutamente los favores o servicios ajenos sin corresponderlos."

Gu : ir de garrón : "Concurrir a una fiesta, espectáculo, etc. sin gasto alguno."

Co : gorrero : "el que come o vive a costa ajena."

Bes : gorrear : "Acción del que se hace invitar constantemente."
el gorrero : "Dícese del que gorrea."

e.g. "-A mí me dio cola verlo a ese tipo que iba de gorra ahí tomando,

fresco, y los demás pague que pague. ¡Qué tenacidad, oye! (I7)

- Eso sí. El es gorrero profesional." (I17)

Metaphor, of long-standing use in most Spanish-speaking countries, though its origin is not clear. In Barranquilla the meaning has become restricted to refer to drinking and it is always used with the verb ir.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : clothes

Guarnieri's entry garrón is presumably the result of metathesis of gorra.

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; miquear (v. mico, el);
Miki Creiser, irselas de; muela, dar; palo, montarse en el; tarjeta
de credimuela, llevar; tubería, poner la.

GUAYABO, EL

Hangover

Derivs : estar enguayabado - to be hungover

DRAE : no fig.

A : Col., "Tristeza, pesadumbre. Malestar que se padece después de una embriaguez u otro exceso por el estilo."

S : no related sense

Su : "Malestar o modorra que se padece a causa de una embriaguez u otro exceso por el estilo, con dolor de cabeza y alteración de las funciones gástricas. En Bogotá vale "guayabo" tristeza o pesadumbre y "enguayabarse" entristecerse o apesadumbrarse."

DF : "Malestar físico consiguiente al acto de ingerir bebidas alcohólicas. 2. Tristeza, abatimiento, especialmente el que queda el día siguiente de una fiesta. 3. Por extensión, tristeza producida por la ausencia de alguna persona, lugar o casa amada."

FLI : "pena, nostalgia; depresión, malestar, desasosiego."

FLII : "los efectos fisiológicos de la borrachera."

e.g. "Para mí el domingo fue un desastre, con el cipote guayabo que tenía después de la fiesta del sábado." (I21)

" -¡Carajo! Tú sí que estás de mal genio. (I8)

- Ay, es que estoy enguayabada. Tengo un dolor de cabeza." (I6)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear.

In my experience, the present sense is used throughout Colombia, while the extension of meaning to the sense 'sadness', 'nostalgia', is found only in the interior.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : plants

GUAYACÁN, EL

Country bumpkin

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "-Ese man ¿de dónde es? Parece guayacán. (I20)

-¡Claro! Es de un pueblito por ahí, no sé cómo se llama."

(An4 (student))

Metaphor, based on the rural origin of the person concerned and also on the nature of the wood of the tree which is dark in colour and very hard, (duro, 'thick', 'stupid' cf. coralibe, el (q.v.)).

Concretization of a mental attribute through comparison with a physical one.

Objectification of person.

Mainly used by students.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : plants

cf. agropecuario, el; coralibe, el; incora, el.

GUAYOS, LOS

Shoes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Col., "calzado ordinario."

S : no related sense

FLII : "botas fuertes cuya suela y tacón se protegen y refuerzan con una especie de clavos."

e.g. "Préstame algo, cuadro. Necesito comprarme unos guayos. No puedo ir a trabajar sin zapatos." (An5)

Metaphor (?), the basis of which is not clear.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : (?)

cf. pisos, los; rieles, los; timbales, los.

GUINEO, PELAR EL

To die

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with pelar, no fig.

A : not with pelar, no fig.

S : not with pelar, no fig.

e.g. "Y, ¿el viejo ese, que vivía al lado? ¿Ya peló el guineo?" (An6)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which may involve the notion of 'the moment of truth', the idea that for the banana the end has come when it is peeled.

A metaphor with a clearly euphemistic function, making light of the idea of death.

Lower class.

Tenor : death

Vehicle : plants, food

HARINA, DAR

To strike, beat up

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with dar, no related sense

A : not with dar, no related sense

S : not with dar, no related sense

Rei : not with dar, but, hacer harina : "matar".

e.g. "(...) dice "Uuy (...) este man me quiere picar de arrastre,
me van a dar harina y todo." Picada de arrastre es como el
imán a atraer a la persona (...) o un canazo o le dan una palea." (Il)

Syntagmatic metaphor based on the metaphorical use of bollo limpio, dar
(q.v.) in the same sense. Harina is here used as a synonym for bollo
limpio. There may also be some influence from the expression
hacer harina cited by Beinhauer.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : food

Cant.

cf. bollo limpio, dar.

HERMOSO COMO EL OSO

Beautiful.

Derivs : none

e.g. "¡Qué tipo tan bello, oye! ¡Hermoso como el oso!"

(Anl)

Assonantal association, in which the meaning is that of hermoso and oso serves the purely playful purpose of the exploitation of rhyme, rhythm and irony.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. in form, bacán como el alacrán; elegante como el elefante; legal como Pascual; Raimundo y todo el mundo; tranquilo como Camilo.

HIERBA, LA

Marihuana

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : yerba : Mex., "por antonomasia, la marihuana."

Su : no fig.

e.g. "A lo mejor te paran en la aduana. Siempre creen que alguien
que viene de Colombia lleva hierba." (118)

Restriction of meaning, involving normalization (cf. English grass).

Middle and lower classes, mainly drug-takers and young people.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : plants

cf. castillo, el; monte, el.

HJUEPUTIVO, m.

Businessman, capitalist pig

Derivs : none

e.g. "Y, ¿qué pasó con tu amigo Fulano?

(S1)

El ya no es amigo mío. Cuando salió de la universidad se

se volvió hijueputivo."

(I18)

Neologism, based on a combination of hijueputa and ejecutivo, and with a clearly playful function.

Used by leftist youth.

Tenor : pejorative expression

IMMAMABLE

Unbearable (of people)

Derivs : none

e.g. "Esa mujer ¡sí que es immamable! Una niña consentida que se cree la verraquera." (I8)

Metaphor, based on the use of mamar (q.v.) in the sense 'to drink', and on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker. Personal, psychological unacceptability is compared with physical unacceptability of a drink.

Concretization of an abstract concept.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : drink

cf. impotable.

IMPOTABLE

Unbearable (of people)

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "Pobrecito, yo no sé cómo puede vivir en esa casa; las hermanas
de él son impotables." (117)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker
and comparing psychological unacceptability with physical unacceptability.

Concretization of an abstract concept.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : drink

cf. inmanable.

INCORA, EL

Country bumpkin

Derivs : none

e.g. "Se puso histérico porque le decían incora, pero es cierto. No tiene sino un año de estar en la ciudad." (I21)

Metaphor, based on the rural origin of the person concerned (Incora is the acronym of Instituto Colombiano de Reforma Agraria).

Assonantal association with coral and coralibe (q.v.) is probably also influential here.

Irony in the use of a bureaucratic, central government term.

Mainly used among students.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : bureaucracy

cf. agropecuario, el; coralibe, el; guayacán, el.

INGLÉS, HACERSE EL

To pretend not to notice something

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with hacerse, no related sense

A : not with hacerse, no related sense

S : not with hacerse, no related sense

Su : no related sense

DF : "Fingir que no se entiende una cosa."

e.g. "El, cuando no le gusta algo que le estén diciendo, se hace
el inglés y sigue leyendo su libro." (16)

Metaphorical formula, based on the Colombians' view of the English as people who remain aloof from whatever is happening around them and only take notice when it suits them.

• A functional metaphor of activity.

Mainly middle class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : nationality

IR PAGANDO

To be goodlooking, sexually attractive

Derivs : none

DRAE : pagar : no related sense

A : pagar : no related sense

S : pagar : no related sense

e.g. "Hombre, ¡vámonos pal ruedo! Aquella mujer va pagando." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker to a winning streak in gambling (with particular reference to fruit machines) and to the person concerned.

A functional metaphor.

Objectification of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : gambling

IRSE DE AGUANTE

To accept an unpleasant situation

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with irse

A : not with irse

S : not with irse

e.g. "El policía se fue de aguante." (Il)

Formula, which serves to extend the use of aguante to a wider set of situations. More direct and emphatic in tone than e.g. "el policía tuvo que aguantarse.", due to concretization of a mental attitude through association with a physical action. Unusual in the application of a fairly vague, abstract term to a precise situation.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation, acceptance

Vehicle :

JERMU, LA

Woman

Derivs : none

BN : "Persona del sexo femenino."

Gu : "mujer".

e.g. "Le puso cachos la jermu y la echó de la casa." (An5)

Backslang from mujer.

Lower class.

Tenor : sex, family

JCFO, EL

Amus

Deriva : none

DRAE : "Cola de mucho pelo, hopo."

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

Su : "U. entre nosotros al igual de trasero (...) lo que no es obra nuestra, pues hopo se usó antiguamente de ese modo en lenguaje figurado, de lo que no hay duda después de leer el siguiente párrafo:

"No será mucho que den noticia del caso a la Santa Hermandad y nos prendan; y a fe que si lo hacen que primero que salgamos de la cárcel que nos ha de sudar el hopo."

Quijote, I.10"

FLIII : "Bolívar, Santander, ano."

e.g. "Cuidado lo que dice que de pronto recibe una patada en el jopo." (19)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on contiguity. The metaphor is quite dead and jopo is considered the most direct word for 'arse', culo (q.v.) being more frequently used in the sense 'vagina'.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : animals

cf. chiquito, el; ned, el; orto, el; revolbicho, el.

JOCO

Bad quality, rubbish, crappy

Derivs : none

e.g. "Ay, ¿por qué no quitan esa música joco? ¡Qué pongan algo
para bailar!" (115)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker.

It is used adjectivally but is invariable.

Concretization of an abstract concept.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body

JOPO LOCO. LA

Woman who has sexual relations with many different men, easy lay

Derivs : none

e.g. "Ésa te la puedes comer cualquier día. Es jopo loco." (An4)

Metaphor, based on a process of synecdoche and also referring to the (linguistic and social) importance given to anal intercourse (cf. culo, el (q.v.) and chiquito, el (q.v.)).

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : parts of the body

JUCADA, LA

Thingummyjig

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

e.g. "Guárdame esta jugada, hazme el favor." (passing over a package)

(An6)

Metaphor, illustrating the omnipresence of the gambling mentality
in Barranquilla (cf. ganar (q.v.)).

Middle and lower class.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : gambling

cf. animalejo, el.

LABIA, LA

Slang speech, especially that used by people who are in some way involved in the underworld

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fam. Verbosidad persuasiva y gracia en el hablar."

A : as DRAE

BN : "Elocuencia, facilidad de palabra."

Gu : "Facilidad de palabra./Garrulería (camp.)."

Bes : "pop. Facundia; facilidad de expresión."

e.g. "-Cuéntanos eso que te pasó. (121)

-¿Y en la misma labia?" (11)

Metaphor, based on the metaphorical use of labia cited by the dictionaries, which in turn is based on metonymy. An indication of the high regard in which this form of speech is held by its speakers.

Concretization of a mental construct.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : speech

Vehicle : parts of the body

Cant.

LEGAL

Expression of praise - good, great

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Perú, "excelente, lo mejor en su género."

S : Perú, "excelente, lo mejor en su género."

DF : "(Costa y Valle del Cauca) Excelente, lo mejor en su género,
lo que queda muy bien."

FLIV : "fam. y pop. Muy bueno, excelente."

BN : "Correcto, adecuado. /De buena calidad; aparente."

e.g. "Con él puedes contar con toda confianza. Es un tipo legal." (I22)

Metaphor, suggesting that the person or object referred to conforms to the standards expected by the speaker, whatever they may be, and irrespective of the law.

A functional metaphor, based on similarity of relations between the speaker and the object spoken of in the literal and metaphorical senses.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : law

LEGAL COMO PASCUAL

Expression of praise - good, great

Derivs : none

e.g. "-Óyeme, ¡ya tí te cae bien ese man? (I22)

-Claro, loco. ¡Legal como Pascual!" (I21)

Assonantal association, the meaning being that of legal (q.v.) while Pascual provides the enjoyment of rhyme and rhythm and the immediacy lent by antonomasia.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : antonomasia

cf. in form, bacán como el alacrán; elegante como el elefante; hermoso como el oso; Raimundo y todo el mundo; tranquilo como Camilo.

LEOPANTA, EL

Trousers

Deriva : none

Tr : no entry, but, liópanta : "pantalón (jerga colombiana)."

e.g. "Cámbiate el leopanta, loco. Está todo manchado." (I4)

Backslang from pantalón.

Lower class.

Tenor : clothes

The -eo- combination is frequently diphthongized as indicated by Trejo but I have not heard the primary stress placed on the first syllable as he suggests.

LEVANTAR

To obtain, to get, to get hold of

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

DF : "Conseguir alguna cosa."

FlI : "obtener, conseguir."

BN : "Hurtar o apoderarse de cosa ajena."

e.g. "Ese muchacho me lo tengo que levantar por aquí." (Il)

"Tengo dos pesos, si te sirve, bien, manito, si no, déjame
lo a mí, que a mí me sirve más porque tengo dos pesos y dos que

levante allá son cuatro y uno que levante por acá son cinco." (Il)

Metaphor, based on similarity of relations between the subject and object of the verb. An abstract bringing together or one in which physical proximity though present is of lesser importance than a more abstract relationship (e.g. interpersonal relations (first example), possession (second example), etc.) is compared with physical bringing together of subject and object. (cf. English to get hold of).

A functional metaphor.

Concretization of an abstract concept.

Objectification of person in those cases where the object is a person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor :

Vehicle : physical action

LEY, EL

Policeman

Derivs : none

e.g. "Vio que venía un ley y se echó a correr en seguida."

(An3)

Metaphor, based on a metonymic relation of contiguity between the abstract entity, the law, and the person representing it -- the process initiated by referring to the police (as a body) as la ley (cf. similar use of English the law) taken one step further.

An unusual case, in that an individual is described in terms of an abstract entity.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle : law

Cant.

cf. aguacate, el; Castalia, el; tombo, el.

LEYENDA, LA

The police

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "Se armó una pelotera, y llegó la leyenda y arrastraron a tres
o cuatro." (An5)

Assonantal association with la ley, involving the use of irony to
reanimate an overworked and commonplace metaphor.

There may also be an element of euphemism involved here, as the word
is used by those who, though not necessarily involved in crime, view
the police as an enemy.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle :

Cant.

LOCA, LA

Homosexual, queer

Derivs : v. loquear - to behave in an effeminate manner

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

DF : "(Costa y Valle) Uno de los nombres del marica."

GI : "homosexual"

BN : "Afeminado, marica."

e.g. "En ese bar se encuentran todas las locas. Ahí pueden bailar
hombres con hombres." (I8)

"A mí no me gusta ese tipo. El loquea mucho." (I9)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker -
the homosexual behaves in a way considered abnormal contrary to
established social rules and worthy of mistrust and contempt.

The fact of social abnormality is foregrounded rather than the
nature thereof.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression, sex

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

cf. cigarrón, el; mariposo, el.

LOCO

Form of address used with anyone, whether personally known to the speaker or not; 'mate', 'son'

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

e.g. "Tiene que arreglarse con (el padrino), loco, Ud. es soldado del man." (11)

"El policia dice "no, fue con mis familiares, loco."" (11)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : general vocative

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

LOCO REBOTADO, EL

Drug addict who behaves in a violent fashion when suffering withdrawal symptoms

Derivs : none

e.g. "No, loco así rebotado no hay allá (en esa clínica); el loco
lo mandan pa' San Rafael." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity. The drug addict is classed as someone mentally sick and the usual Colombian sense of rebotado, referring to someone with indigestion, is generalized to unpleasant after effects of a different kind.

A functional metaphor.

Used by those in some way involved in the drug scene.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : psychological characterisation, food

LORA, DAR LA

To be too trusting with the result that one is deceived or taken advantage of

Derivs: none

DRAE : not with dar, no fig.

A : dar lora, salir con una lora : Col., "salir con un disparate."

S : no entry, but, Arg., irle a uno como a la lora, o salir como la lora "expr. fig. y fam. Irle mal, salir fracasado de una tentativa o empresa."

DF : dar lora : "Hablar y hacer cosas importuna y neciamente; meter la pata."

e.g. "Ese man es bobo, cuadro. Dio la lora con esa gente y lo robaron." (I21)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity. The parrot is considered both stupid and over trusting, being prepared to perch on anyone's hand (mete la pata literally as well as figuratively.).

A functional metaphor.

It has been suggested ⁽¹⁾ that the expression's use in Barranquilla with specific reference to the fact of being "done" as a result of one's stupidity/trust is, at least in part, due to assonantal association with dar la hora which refers to falling for the thieves' trick of asking

for the time and having one's watch stolen as a result (cf. bobo, el
(q.v.)). The similarity of attributes of the subject of the verb
in each case and of attitude of the speaker to that person in each
case, lends credibility to this hypothesis.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : pejorative expression, psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

(1) by informants I21 and I22.

LUCAS, LA

A thousand pesos

Derivs : none

DRAE : no entry, but, los lucas : "Germ. los naipes."

W : no entry, but luca : "mil pesos."

BN : "Suma de dinero equivalente a mil soles de oro."

Gu : no entry, but, la luca : "Billete de mil pesos."

e.g. "Imagínate que la lucas que se ganó en la lotería, la gastó
toda el mismo día." (Anl)

Metaphor (?), the basis of which is not clear, though it may be
related in some way to the use of the same word, in the masculine,
with reference to playing cards.

Lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : gambling (?)

LLAVE, LA

Friend (of either sex)

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

DF : "De la hípica hemos tomado esta expresión, que se va extendiendo mucho, y que significa el acuerdo de dos o más para hacer alguna labor material o intelectual."

GI : "es tratamiento popular y reciente y proviene del lenguaje hípico. Dos caballos corren en llave (quiere decir que si uno de los dos llega primero, también el otro es ganador; en los programas figuran los dos enlazados por una llave). Así dos personas que siempre andan, estudian, juegan o parrandean juntas son llave : "Fulano y fulana son llave."

e.g. "Actualmente no tengo llave, ando solo porque llaves son aquéllos cuando ven a uno pulido así, bien vestido, lo llaman "Ahá, llave."

(11)

Double metaphor. The sense used in horse racing, given by Gómez de Ivashevsky, is based on similarity of relations - the linking together of two horses is compared with the fit and interdependence between key and lock. The present sense is a further metaphor, based on similarity of activity and comparing the linking of two individuals with that of the horses.

A functional metaphor, thus, of both relations and activity.

Animalization/objectification of both people involved.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : animals/artefacts

MAMAR

(1) To drink alcohol

(2) To make love

Derivs : adj. mamado - exhausted

DRAE : "fam. comer, engullir." mamado "vulg. ebrio, borracho."

A : "Nav. Beber vino o licores." Am., "fam. Emborracharse, embriagarse." Col., "fatigarse." mamado : "borracho, ebrio."

S : mamarse : "Embriagarse." mamado : "Borracho, ebrio, chispo."

DF : no entry, mamado : "Cansado."

FLIII : mamársela : "realizar el coito."

FLIV : no entry, mamao estar : "fam. y vulg. Estar muy cansado, extenuado."

Gu : "Emborracharse. (camp.)"

e.g. (1) "-Y ¿Fulano? (S1)

- Ahí estuvo, mamando ron toda la noche." (I8)

(2) "Imagínate que cuando entré estaban mamando ahí mismo en

la sala. ¡Yo no sabía qué hacer!" (An2)

"Estoy mamado. He trabajado como loco todo

el día." (I9)

Metaphor, based on the use (already by extension) of mamar, cited by DRAE, in the sense 'to eat'. Sense (1) is a functional metaphor based on similarity of activity - consumption of alcohol compared with consumption of food. Sense (2) is based on the association between eating and sex (cf. comerse (i.v.)) and involves objectification of persons. The adjective mamado is presumably based on the idea of

exhaustion following sexual activity and/or excessive drinking.

Mamar in the sense 'to eat', on which these two metaphors are based, is, to my knowledge, not (no longer?) used in Barranquilla, presumably because such a degree of polysemy, involving meanings so closely related would create too much confusion.

(1) and (2) mainly lower class.

Mamado middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) alcohol

(2) sex

Vehicle : (1) and (2) food

cf. (2) comerse; cular (v. culo, el); polvo, echar un; tirar.

MAMAR GALLO

To say something which is untrue or to assume an insincere attitude for the purpose of making fun of someone, to pull someone's leg, to take the piss out of someone, to bullshit

Derivs : n. el mamagallismo - the activity of leg-pulling; n. la mamadera de gallo - instance of leg-pulling; n. el mamagallista (syn. el mamador de gallo) - person who indulges in leg-pulling.

FLIV : "fam. y vulg. Tomar el pelo, hacer burla, burlarse de uno.

Caramelearlo." mamadera de gallo : "fam. y vulg. Carameleo."

mamagallismo : "tomadura de pelo."

Al : mamar el gallo : "hacer fisga, dar vaya, burlarse de alguno."

mamador de gallo : "Dícese de un sujeto irónico, zumbón, burlón."

mamadera de gallo : "vaya, ironía, sátira, tono sarcástico."

Ca : "Mamarle a uno el gallo es frase metafórica y vulgar que significa usar de bromas con uno haciéndole creer lo que no ha acontecido o no se ha dicho, con el propósito de halagar su vanidad o su esperanza. Procede de la costumbre que tienen los jugadores de gallos de reanimar al animal en la rifa chupándole la sangre que mana de las heridas de la cabeza y los ciega."

e.g. "¡Claro que lo puedes convencer! No importa lo que digas.

¡Mámale gallo!" (I8)

"Ya te habrás dado cuenta de que aquí en la costa nos gusta mucho el mamagallismo." (I21)

" - Y ¿es cierto todo eso que le decías de tu tío? (S1)

- ¡Qué va! ¡Pura mamadera de gallo!" (I6)

"No le pares bolas a Fulano, él es muy mamarallista."

(19)

" ¿Ese tipo es mamador de gallo, oye? A mí me pareció que
no fue en serio lo que decía."

(110)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity. Giving someone a false impression of events, of a state of affairs or of one's attitudes or opinions is compared with giving the cock a false impression of its position in the fight. As may be seen from the examples, it is used for any form of speaking in a sarcastic or insincere manner and does not necessarily imply giving undue encouragement.

A functional metaphor.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : animals, sport.

MAMERTO, EL

Communist

Derivs : none

A : Ecuad., "Bobo, tonto."

BN : "Tonto, mentecato."

Gu : "Borrachín (camp.)"

e.g. "-¿Fulano es mamerto? (I22)

- Claro. Es del partido." (I21)

Pejorative expression, the origin of which is not clear. The sense given by Guarnieri is presumably derived from mamar (1) (q.v.), but that given by Alonso and Bendezú Neyra is as obscure as the present sense, though the two may be related as both are clearly pejorative.

Mainly middle class.

Tenor : pejorative expression, politics

Vehicle : (?)

MAMEYAZO, EL

Thuráp, heavy blow

Derivs : none

A : Cuba, "golpe dado con la mano o con algún instrumento."

S : Cuba, "golpe fuerte y brusco, batacazo."

DF : "(Costa) Golpe fuerte y brusco, batacazo."

e.g. "Lo tumbó de un solo mameyazo, ¡paf!"

(An4)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear, although a blow with a mamey would presumably be fairly effective.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : physical action

Vehicle : plants/food

MAN, EL

Man

Derivs : pl. los manes; dim. el mancito.

FLIV : "Costa. Hombre. Ese man."

e.g. "Yo me timbro de que el man está robando en la casa." (1) (I1)

"Y, ¿qué hacían esos manes por ahí?" (I15)

"A mí me parece chévere ese mancito. ¿A tí no te gusta?" (I16)

Anglicism, which has achieved a high degree of hispanicization in its derivative forms.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor :

Vehicle : loan-word

(1) cf. also Appendix.

MANCA, LA

Weapon

Derivs : adj. mancado - armed

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. " . . . porque ya es una manca una botella corta, picada." (Il)

"El tipo (...) venía mancado con una pelota de ésos." (Il)

Neologism, based on mancar, i.e. that which is used to maim or cripple.

Foregrounding of the function as opposed to the form of the weapon.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical characterisation

Cant.

MANGO, EL

(1) Attractive person

(2) The heart

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

DF : "(Bog. y Cund.) El corazón."

FLII : "corazón."

BN : "Beldad, dama muy guapa."

e.g. (1) "Esa morenita sí que es un mango. ¡Para comérsela!" (I8)

(2) "Murió. Le falló el mango y ya." (An2)

Metaphor, based in both cases on the idea of the mango as a delicacy.

(1) is also related through edibility to sex (cf. comerse (q.v.)) and is therefore a functional metaphor, (2) is probably also influenced by similarity of shape.

Objectification of person (1), and of a part of the human body (2).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) sex

(2) parts of the body

Vehicle : (1) and (2) food

MANO

Vocative used to address friends

Derivs : dim. manito

A : Mex., "(aféresis de hermano) m. Amigo, compañero."

S : "Abreviatura vulgar de hermano, compañero, vale, valedor. De uso entre gente del hampa, y sólo familiarmente entre otras."

Cu : "Apócope de hermano."

DF : "Aféresis de hermano. "Mano José no ha llegado."" manito
"Aféresis familiar de hermanito que en la Costa se usa en vocativo o como interjección de sorpresa."

Gon : "Aféresis de hermano. Trato familiar que se da a los amigos allegados. Mano Sidorio."

LR : "El 'mano' es muy común entre labriegos. Mano Aurelio."

GI : "frecuentemente se contrae (el tratamiento hermano) en la forma mano, mana, manito, manita."

BN : "Amigo, camarada, colega."

e.g. "Hay muchas cosas, mano, que uno ha pasado." (Il)

"Tengo dos pesos, si te sirve, bien manito, si no déjame a mí." (Il)

Abbreviation of hermano/hermanito, used in the vocative but not, as suggested by the Colombian authors cited, in conjunction with a proper name.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : family

cf. quadro; vale.

MANTA, LA

Paper used for rolling marihuana, skin

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no related sense

e.g. "Pásame las mantas, cuadro. Vamos a fumarnos una vareta." (I7)

Metaphor, based on the notion of covering something and of rolling up.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : artefacts

MANTECA, LA

Maid

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

DF : "Sirvienta. De uso en varios departamentos."

e.g. "Las mantecas a veces tienen novios. Manteca es sirvienta pero esa palabra, para nosotros todavía sigue muy fea, digamos la muchacha del servicio, el ama de llaves." (11)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on contiguity - the maid does the cooking and therefore uses the fat.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression, house and family

Vehicle : food

MANZANILLO, EL

Opportunist, person who changes his/her opinions as is convenient

Derivs : none

e.g. "-¿El estaba ahí? Pero, ¡si él siempre andaba hablando pestes

de ese grupo! (I6)

- Él siempre ha sido manzanillo." (I7)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which may refer to manzanilla and the many different uses of that herb, rather than to the manzanillo tree.

If so, it is a functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of inconsistency through comparison with physical versatility.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : plants

cf. camaleón, el.

MARIPOSO, m

Homosexual

Derivs : none

DRAE : no entry, but, mariposón : "Persona inconstante en aficiones o amores." Arg., Chile, Perú, Urug., "Homosexual, maricón."

A : no entry, but, mariposón : Cuba, Guat., "Hombre muy galanteador." Perú, "Homosexual."

S : no entry, but, mariposón : Cuba, Mex., "dícese del individuo enamorado y galanteador."

GI : no entry, but, mariposa : "Invertido sexual."

BN : no entry, but, mariposa : "Varón homosexual." mariposón : "Quien reúne características de homosexual o afeminado."

e.g. "A mí no me gusta ese tipo. Yo no sé, es como efeminado, parece que fuera mariposo." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on visual similarity of actions - the stylized, dainty movements generally attributed to homosexuals are compared with the fluttering of the butterfly.

Foregrounding of a secondary characteristic of the person referred to.

Animalization of person.

The change to the masculine gender is interesting, particularly in

contrast with the feminine la loca (q.v.), used in the same sense.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression, sex

Vehicle : animals

cf. cigarrón, el; loca, la.

MARRANO, LL

Stupid person particularly one who may be easily deceived or taken advantage of due to their ingenuousness

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no fig.

S : no entry, but, marranear : Col., "engañar."

FLII : hacerse el marrano : "el bobo, el tonto."

M : no entry, but, marranear : Col., "engañar."

e.g. "Pero él sí que es marrano. Se deja tomar a todo momento." (An5)

Metaphor, based on a view of the pig as the epitome of stupidity and ingenuousness (cf. arreglar a lo cerdo (q.v.)).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression, deceit

Vehicle : animals

MECHA, LA

Clothes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : Col., "andrajó, harapos, jirones."

Su : no related sense

W : "vestido de paño."

e.g. "Lo que pasa es que a ella no le interesa la mecha. Se viste horrible." (Anl (student))

Metaphor, based on similarity of material from which tenor and vehicle are made.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. alcahuetas, las; pinta, la

MEJOR DICHO

Pause-filler, cf. English you see, you know, etc.

Derivs : syn. mejor dicho chicho

e.g. "Hemos ganado (...) un balance más o menos regular para el
equipo porque estamos jugando con equipos infantiles y podemos
..... mejor dicho, el equipo está sobrado." (I16)

"Es una cuestión, mejor dicho chicho, que me interesa bastante." (An4)

Expression which through continual use in a wide range of contexts
has lost all cognitive meaning and is used as a pause-filler.

The playful use of mejor dicho chicho by assonantal association
emphasises this lack of content.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

Vehicle :

cf. ¡analiza!; tú sabes y vaina.

MEINER

To take drugs

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no entry, but, metérselas : "(Barb.) tener afición al licor."

DF : no entry, but, metérselas : "(Costa) Beber."

e.g. "El hashish tampoco me gustó. Metí. Traba de cuarentiocho horas.

Mete y mete y mete."

(11)

Restriction of meaning, along the same lines as the use, with reference to alcohol, cited by Sundheim and Di Filippo.

Foregrounding of the physical action as opposed to its purpose or effect.

Mainly used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : physical action

¡METO!

Expression indicating agreement with a proposal or suggestion of some kind, you're on, it's a deal

Derivs : none

e.g. " -- Si empiezas tú con eso el lunes, entonces lo podemos terminar
martes. (S1)

-- Okey, ¡meto!" (I21)

Extension of meaning, from the use of the expression to indicate acceptance of a bet in gambling, which has been generalized to acceptance of any kind of proposal.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : acceptance

Vehicle : gambling

cf. va jugando

MICO, DT,

Person who drinks at someone else's expense

Derivs : v. miquear -- to drink at someone else's expense

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no related sense

e.g. "¡Vamonos! Ahí viene ese tipo que es mico y terminaremos pagándole todo." (An4)

"Si quieres vamos al bar, pero no tengo plata, tendremos que miquear." (S2)

Syntagmatic metaphor, based on a somewhat complex derivation from palo. The metaphorical use of palo in the sense 'a drink' (cf. palo, dar (q.v.)) led to the expression montarse en el palo (v. palo, montarse en el) meaning 'to drink at someone else's expense' and playing on the normal South American use of palo in the sense 'tree'. Hence mico comes to be used in the present sense through the idea of the monkey as tree-climber par excellence.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : animals

niuear, cf. cachoto, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña poner la; gorra, ir de;
Miki Creiser, irselas de; muela, dar; palo, montarse en el;
tarjeta de credimela, llevar; tuberfa, poner la.

¡MIÉRCOLES!

Exclamation of surprise, indignation, horror, etc.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no interj., no fig.

A : no interj., no fig.

S : no interj., no fig.

Su : "Interjección que denota sorpresa. Hay que tolerarla aunque no está en el D.A. para que no se usen otras peores."

DF : "Interjección que denota sorpresa. Es un eufemismo."

GI : "es eufemismo que se oye en el habla vulgar. Generalmente se alarga la e de la sílaba primera."

BN : "Interjección de enfado o molestia."

e.g. "(...) tres, cuatro carros tocando el claxon ta, ta, ta, ta, así como cuando el tráfico se detiene y no se oye el tiro y muerto se queda ¡miércoles!" (11)

Euphemism, from mierda, based on assonantal association.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : euphemism

Vehicle : days of the week

MIKI CREISER, IRSELAS DE

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : none

e.g. "--¿Cómo empezó esa pelotera? (I22)

- Pues, Fulano quería irselas de Miki Creiser, ves, y el
otro se cabreó." (I21)

Syntagmatic metaphor, based on assonantal association with mico (q.v.).

Miki Creiser is the name of a Brazilian footballer who was very well-known in Barranquilla at one time, but I have not come across any suggestion that the expression is based on his behaviour.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : sport

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de;
miquear (v. mico, el); muela, dar; palo, montarse en el;
tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tuberfa, poner la.

MISACA, LA

Shirt

Derivs : none

Tr : "camisa (jerga colombiana)."

e.g. "¡Cuidado! Se te va a caer la ceniza - de pronto te

quemas la misaca."

(An4)

Backslang from camisa.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Cant.

cf. fraca, la.

MODELAR

To go to prison, to do time

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

- e.g. "- Como el hombre tiene que resistir toda prueba, llegué a un sitio, (...) o sea a la Modelo y ahí conocí al difunto (...)" (I1)
- ¿Modelaste? (I21)
- Esto le digo. Cinco veces. A la Modelo." (I1)

Assonantal association with Modelo, the name of one of the prisons in Barranquilla.

Irony and normalization are involved here.

• Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : clothes

Cant.

cf. pagar un canazo (v. Canadá).

MONTE, EL

Marihuana

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : Mex., "yerba, pasto."

S : "Yerba, maleza, pasto en general."

Su : "U. incorrectamente por maleza : espesura que forma la
muchedumbre de arbustos, como zarzales y otros."

e.g. "Qué cosa, ¿no?, esa introversión del monte. Todos estaban ahí
fumando y no hablaba nadie." (16)

Restriction of meaning, from the Latin American use of the word in
the general sense 'herbaceous plants'.

Normalization.

Mainly drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : plants

cf. castillo, el; hierba, la.

¡mosca!

Exhortation to someone to be alert, to be on the look out, to move quickly; 'keep on your toes', 'be on your guard'.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no interj., no related sense

S : no interj., no fig.

e.g. "Y, ¡mosca! ¡Oíste? Que no te vayan a coger aquí." (S2)

Metaphor, based on the speed with which a fly moves, always darting out of reach when attacked.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

cf. ¡zona!

MUELA, DAR

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : none

e.g. "Se metieron ahí y estuvieron dando muela toda la noche. El dueño del bar se puso furioso porque se le iban todos los clientes."

(An5)

Metaphor, based on frequent Colombian use of muela in the metaphorical sense 'gluttony'. Dar muela is therefore 'to behave gluttonously' and in the present sense is transferred from food to alcohol. The notion of greed is extended to include taking from others as well as consuming in large quantities.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : food

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de; miquear (v. mico, el); Miki Creiser, irselas de; palo, montarse en el; tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tubería, poner la.

MUNICIPIC, EL

Prison

Derivs : abbrv. la muni

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. " - Y, ¿por qué te iban a llevar al municipio? (I21)

- Por indocumentado." (I22)

" - El viejo ese ¿ya no está trabajando? (An1)

- No, no, no. Se espaturró. Está en la muni." (An5)

Assonantal association from cárcel municipal involving irony and
normalization.

The change of gender is an integral part of the pun; the abbreviation
to muni which loses the pun therefore reverts to the original gender
of cárcel.

Foregrounding of the notion of prison as a place as opposed to its
function.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : bureaucracy

Cant.

NED, EL

Anus

Derivs : none

e.g. "No, no botes el periódico - sirve pa' limpiarse le ned." (An6)

Syntagmatic metaphor, involving antonomasia. Ned is the name of a football player who was very popular in Barranquilla at one time and who, because of his small stature was known as "Ned, el chiquito". The metaphorical use of el chiquito (q.v.) in the sense 'anus' was then transferred to ned.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : sport

cf. chiquito, el; jopo, el; orto, el; revolbicho, el.

NO DECIR NI MU

Not to say a word

Derivs : none

DF : "(Costa) frase vulgar que expresa enmudecimiento."

LR : "Para relieves el silencio de alguno que, requerido para hablar, no dijo palabra se emplean estas locuciones : (...) "no dijo ni mu"."

e.g. "Ella no dice ni mu pero se da cuenta de todo." (18)

Formula, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which presumably suggests that cows are never silent or that mu is particularly easy to say. There may possibly be some influence from assonantal association with mudo.

Foregrounding of the notion of speech as sound rather than as communication i.e. as a concrete rather than an abstract entity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : speech

Vehicle : animals

NO ENTENDER NI PAPA

Not to understand a thing / a word

Derivs: none

A: not with entender, but, ni papa: Perú, S. Dgo., Urug., "Nada, ni así." No saber ni papa de una cosa: "Estar ignorante de algo."

S : not with entender, but, no saber uno una papa de una cosa, o ni papa : "expr. fig. y fam. Ser absolutamente ignorante de ella."

DF : not with entender, but, no saber ni papa (de una cosa) : "Ser del todo ignorante de ella."

e.g. "¿Era inglés de Inglaterra? Pues, ¡con razón que yo no entendi ni papa!" (16)

Formula, presumably based on the commonness of the potato, so that ni papa comes to mean 'not at all'.

Middle and lower classes

Tenor: psychological characterisation

Vehicle: food

NO HAY CASO

Expression indicating acceptance of or resignation to an unpleasant situation.

Derivs : none

Gu : "No se puede. / No se insista."

e.g. " - El dijo que no se puede hacer por teléfono; tienes que
ir allá personalmente. (S1)

- Bueno. No hay caso. Iré mañana." (I8)

Formula, based on the notion that it is useless to try and change the situation, 'to make a case of it'.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : acceptance

NOTA, LA

Any situation or activity, scene

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "A mí me fascina toda esa nota de la belleza." (I7)

Metaphor, based on the idea of getting the right note or the wrong note in music; this is transferred to agreeableness or otherwise of any situation or activity and thence to the situation or activity itself.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : music

cf. viaje, el.

OIDO, DAÑAR EL

To talk someone into something

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with dañar, no fig.

A : not with dañar, no related sense.

e.g. "No hubo quien me dañara el oído y que:" Uuy, vamos al colegio y nos tiramos en el curso."" (11)

Metaphor, based on the idea of making a deep and lasting impression or change.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Concretization of mental process by comparison with physical one.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : parts of the body

CLLA, ESTAR EN LA

(1) To be in a difficult situation

(2) To be penniless

Derivs : none

e.g. (1) "Está en la olla. Parece que tiene problemas en la oficina y todo." (I8)

(2) "No, yo no puedo salir. Estoy en la olla. No tengo ni pal bus." (I6)

Metaphor in its first sense and restriction of meaning therefrom in the second. The metaphor is based on the unpleasantness and inescapability of the situation of being cooked (cf. English to be in hot water, out of the frying pan into the fire) and draws a comparison between mental and physical discomfiture.

A functional metaphor involving concretization.

(2) restricts this meaning from unpleasant situations in general to the precise situation of having no money.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1)

(2) money

Vehicle : (1) and (2) food

cf. (2), estar frío (v. frío).

ORTO, EL

Anus

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

W : el horto : "bolsillo de atrás." orto : lunf. "ano".

BN : "Bolsillo posterior del pantalón./ ano, trasero."

Tr : "bolsillo posterior del pantalón (replana)./ano (lunf.
y replana)."

e.g. "Dizque le dio una patada en el orto porque le había

contestado feo."

(An4)

Abbreviation of ortopédico, punning on the assonantal association
between the second half of the word and pedo.

The expression seems to have entered Spanish from Italian via
lunfardo. (1) It should also be mentioned that, at least in
Barranquilla, the pun has lost most of its force and I had considerable
difficulty in establishing the origin of the expression.

Lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : medicine

cf. chiquito, el; jopo, el; ned, el; revolbicho, el.

- (1) cf. Wagner who describes the word as "italianismo argentino" and suggests an alternative derivation from orto botánico, (193).

PACA, LA

A hundred pesos

Derivs : syn. el paquete

DRAE : no fig. el paquete : no related sense

A : no fig. el paquete : Hond., "Conjunto de los cucuruchos formados con un mismo papel y en cada uno de los cuales hay puestos cincuenta pesos."

S : no fig. el paquete : no related sense

FLII : no entry. el paquete : "cien pesos en billetes de a peso."

Te : no entry, but el paco : "dinero".

Tr : "el botín del robo (caliche). Rollo de billetes."

el paquete : "el botín del robo (caliche). Rollo de billetes."

e.g. "Parece que llevaba una paca que le había prestado su hermano y se la robaron. Quedó sin nada." (An2)

"Se hizo invitar y después supimos que tenía un paquete en el bolsillo, ¡hijueputa!" (An4)

Metaphor, based on similarity of form, comparing one sort of bundle with another. The synonym paquete is a restriction of meaning to one particular kind of packet (cf. to make/cost a packet) and also involves assonantal association with paca.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle :

PACIENTE, EL

The victim of a crime

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

BN : "El que sufre la acción delictiva."

e.g. " -- El tipo lo encañonan antes de entregar la plata, y si
el tipo lo que lleva es un poco de papeles, matan al paciente.

(11)

--¿El paciente?

(121)

-- Sí, paciente. Ya se va a dar por muerto, o por herido." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of relations; the victim suffers the effects of an activity which is quite outside his/her control. There is also a similarity of activity in that, as mentioned in the example, s/he is liable to suffer physical injury or even death.

A functional metaphor, then, of both activity and relations.

Normalization and irony are also involved.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : medicine

Cant.

PACHANGA, LA

Party

Derivs : none

A : Echar una pachanga : P.R., "fest. Bailar una punta."

BN : "Fiesta, baile."

e.g. "Tienes que venir el sábado. Vamos a hacer una pachanga muy
chévere en la casa." (I7)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on contiguity, pachanga
in its literal use referring to a Caribbean dance rhythm.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : festivities

Vehicle : music

PAJA, LA

Unconvincing, trivial or empty speech, rubbish, nonsense

Derivs : syns. la pájara, la pajarilla

DRAE : "Cosa ligera, de poca consistencia o entidad." la pájara :
no related sense. la pajarilla : no fig.

A : as DRAE, and Ser todo paja : "Expr. indicando que no hay
contenido en un escrito o asunto; que el conjunto de algo
es todo sin valor o de ninguna utilidad." la pájara : no
related sense. la pajarilla : no fig.

S : no related sense

Su : no fig.

DF : "Mentira, necedad, patochada."

e.g. "Yo no voy a esas reuniones. Toda esa gente lo que habla
es paja." (I6)

"Eso que él dice de la universidad es pura pájara. No le
pares bolas." (I21)

"Yo no sé cómo harán los políticos para inventarse toda
esa cantidad de pajarilla que hablan." (An1)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity - straw is lightweight
and used for padding.

A functional metaphor.

Concretization of an abstract notion of lack of substance through comparison with a physical one.

The synonyms pájara and pajarilla are based on assonantal association with paja.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : plants/animals

PALIDA, LA

Fear

Derivs: none

e.g. "Cuando el tipo ese se puso a gritarme, así, histérico, me dio
la pálida. Yo subí la escalera temblando." (I7)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process of cause for effect.

Foregrounding of the outward physical signs of a mental state.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor: psychological characterisation

Vehicle: physical characterisation

PALO, DAR

Not to pay the bill in a bar

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fr. fig. y fam. Salir o suceder una especie al contrario de como se esperaba o se deseaba." el palo : "fig. y fam. Daño o perjuicio. U. más con los verbos dar, llevar, o recibir."

A : as DRAE. el palo : "fig. y fam. daño o quebranto que uno recibe en sus intereses materiales o morales."

S : no entry, but, el palo : P.R., Ven., "trago de licor, sobre todo si es grande."

Su : no fig.

e.g. "A él ya no lo quieren ver en esa tienda porque antes daba mucho palo y al fin dijeron "ya nomás."" (An5)

Metaphor, based on a combination of the notion of doing harm with the use of palo in the sense 'a drink'.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : plants/artefacts

PALO, MONTARSE EN EL

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : none

e.g. "A él le encanta rumbear pero como también le gusta
montarse en el palo nadie lo quiere acompañar." (An4)

Syntagmatic metaphor, based on a pun on the metaphorical use of
palo (cf. palo, dar (q.v.)) in the sense 'a drink' and its literal
use in the sense 'tree'.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : plants

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de;
miquear (v. mico, el); Miki Creiser, irselas de; muela, dar;
tarjeta de credimuela, llevar; tubería, poner la.

PAPAYA, LA

Vulva

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Ant., Col., Guat., Mex., Perú : "Papo, vulva."

S : Cuba, P.R., "fig. partes pudendas de la hembra; la vulva, especialmente de la mujer. Es término bajo."

DF : "la vulva de la mujer."

FLIV : "vulva."

BN : no related sense, but las papayas : "Posaderas, glúteos."

P : "Partes naturales de la mujer."

Tr : "órgano genital femenino (caliche y replana)."

e.g. "Se puso a dar gritos la mujer, bueno, le dijo de todo pues, porque le tocó la papaya." (An5)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape. The eating-sex association (cf. comerse (q.v.)) may also be a factor here.

Objectification of part of the human body.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body/sex

Vehicle : food

The sense given by Bendezú Neyra is interesting in that a similar process, comparison of shape, has led to a different metaphorical sense.

PAPERAS

Good fun, a good sort

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. " - Y, el hermano de él, ¿qué tal es? (I21)

- Paperas. Muy chévere." (I22)

Assonantal association with papa, based on the metaphorical use of ser buena papa in the sense 'to be a good sort' (although, in my experience, the latter is used less widely in Barranquilla than in the interior of Colombia). Used adjectivally in predicate position.

Playful use of irony.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : physical characterisation

PARAR

To waylay, to attack

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

e.g. "Varón es el que se defiende solo, el que para a cualquier,
el que lo baja solo y no necesita de padrinos." (11)

Restriction of meaning, involving normalization.

Foregrounding of the physical action rather than its purpose or
effect.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

PARQUEARSE

To take up a position somewhere, either sitting or standing

Derivs : none

DRAE : no refl., no fig.

A : no refl., no fig.

S : no refl., no fig.

e.g. "Vamos a parquearnos aquí en este tronco. Podemos estar tranquilos." (I21)

Metaphor, based on similarity of activity (parquear is the usual word in Colombia for 'to park (a car)').

A functional metaphor.

Objectification of human body.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : physical action

Vehicle : travel

cf. English, to park oneself.

PASADO DE CALIDAD

Superb, marvellous

Derivs : none

e.g. "Presentamos su programa Sábado Violento, sobrado de lote,
pasado de calidad." (M3)

Hyperbolic metaphor, indicating unlimited praise and perhaps comparable in its logical contradiction to the English slang expression of praise too much. An example of colourful somewhat extravagant journalese working its way into everyday speech.

Lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle :

cf. sobrado.

PATO, EL

Intruder, nosey-parker

Derivs : adv. de pato - uninvited

DRAE : no fig.

A : Arg., Col., "Mirón en una casa de juego."

S : Arg., "Mirón en un juego, persona que ve jugar sin tomar parte en ello."

DF : "Hombre, sin oficio, que ordinariamente anda entrometiéndose en todas partes y comentándolo todo. En la Costa se dice también de los que viajan en buque, autobuses y otros vehículos sin pagar pasaje. De ahí la expresión "ir de pato.""

FLII : "Vago, holgazán, charlatán."

H : "Barranquilla, polizón."

e.g. "Ah, tú dices el pato ese que anda chismeando por todos lados."

(Anl (student))

"Yo no sé. Parece que en las fiestas siempre es la gente que se mete de pato que después se pone a pelear. ¡Qué jartera!" (I6)

Metaphor, based on a view of the duck as an animal which is forever wandering into the house uninvited.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. chivo, el; sapo, el.

PATRICIO, PAGAR EL

To be unfairly blamed for something

Derivs : echar el Patricio - to lay the blame on someone unfairly

e.g. "Un día pagué un Patricio porque le llevé cuatro rodajas de levadora a mi primo." (11)

" - He contado con esa mala suerte (...). En las partes que he asistido y en que yo he querido colaborar, se pierde esto y lo otro . . . En la casa de mi tía se perdieron las cosas. Hasta que se cogieron al verdadero o sea al hijo de ella. (11)

- Y, ¿estaban pensando que tú eras el verdadero? (I21)

- Dime tú. ¡Sí! (11)

- Eso, ¿cómo lo llaman Uds.? (I21)

- Bueno, eso lo llamamos que nos echan el pato. Patricio o pato." (11)

Antonomasia, based on assonantal association with pagar un pato, and serving to reanimate a well-worn metaphor.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor :

Vehicle : antonomasia

PELADO, EL

Boy, lad, youth (child, adolescent or young adult)

Derivs : fem. la pelada

DRAE : no fig.

A : Col., Pan., "Rapazuelo."

S : no related sense

Su : "Vocablo horroroso que el vulgo pronuncia "pelao". ¿Cuándo harán algo los maestros para extirpar este brote revelador de escasa cultura? Parece que para los más no existieran estas voces con que se le es fácil sustituir : chico, chicuelo, chiquillo, pequeñuelo, rapaz."

DF : "(Costa) Niño, muchacho."

FLIII : "Chico,-a; muchacho,-a."

e.g. "Entonces, al día siguiente me encontré con el pelao, me dio cola, le tiré un ladrillo, casi que lo mato." (I1)

" - Y, esas peladas, ¿qué son tuyas? (I3)

- Son sobrinas mías." (I2)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear, though it may refer to the smooth beardless face of a boy.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : age

Vehicle : physical characterisation

PEPA, LA

Pill

Derivs : none

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

e.g. "Tengo unas pepas que tengo que tomar antes de la comida." (I6)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape, pepa being frequently used in Barranquilla in place of pepita, 'seed' (possibly because of the obscene metaphorical sense of pepita (q.v.)).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : medicine

Vehicle : plants

PEPITA, LA

Clitoris

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

FLIV : "vulva."

Tr : "Clitoris (caliche)"

e.g. " - Él es super-orgullosa de su verga grandota pero eso no
tiene importancia para la mujer. No tiene nada que ver.

(I6)

-- Lo importante es encontrar la pepita, ¿cierto?"

(I8)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape.

Objectification of part of the human body.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body/sex

Vehicle : plants

I have not come across the sense given by Flórez and assume it to
be a synecdochic extension of the present sense.

cf. semilla, la.

PERICO, EL

Scrambled eggs, usually with onion and tomato

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : Ven., "Tortilla de huevos con cebollas." Huevos pericos :

Col., Ven., "Huevos revueltos."

S : huevos pericos : Col., "huevos revueltos."

Su : pericos : "U. por huevos revueltos."

DF : "Leche con café, en poca cantidad." huevos pericos : "Huevos revueltos o tortilla de huevos con cebolla o cebollinos (amarillo y verde)."

FLI : "taza pequeña de café con leche."

Al : "En plural, tiene la acepción de huevos revueltos o revoltillo de huevos con cebolla o cebollinos (amarillo y verde) U.t. en Colombia."

e.g. "¿Qué quieres desayunar? ¿Huevo frito o perico?"

(117)

Metaphor, based on similarity of colour and the notion of a mixture of colours.

Animalization of object.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : food

Vehicle : animals

The sense 'small white coffee' cited by Di Filippo and Flórez, and which is, in my experience, used mainly in Bogotá and surrounding area, takes the metaphor one stage further by referring to something which has a mixture of colours, but different colours from those of a parakeet. It also refers to the small size of the bird.

PERRO, EL

Astute, wily person

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. Hombre tenaz, firme y constante en alguna opinión o empresa." perro viejo : "fig. y fam. Hombre sumamente cauto, advertido y prevenido por la experiencia."

A : as DRAE

S : no related sense

Su : no related sense

DF : ser un perro : "Ser muy astuto y experimentado."

FLII : "inteligente, hábil, astuto, eficaz."

e.g. "No te creas que podrás engañarlo a él -- te pillará cada

vez. Es un perro."

(An2)

Metaphor, based on a view of the dog as an intelligent creature and also on the notion of detection, of 'sniffing out' what the real situation is.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : animals

PESADA, LA

Group of people, liked, respected and slightly feared because of their mental and/or physical superiority

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. " - Y, ¿había mucho bacán en esa escuela? (I4)

- Cómo no. Así ide la pesada? Sí, Fulano y Zutano." (I1)

Metaphor, involving a comparison between influence and power on the one hand and physical weight on the other.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Concretization of an abstract concept through comparison with a physical attribute.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : physical characterisation

PICADA DE ARRASTRE, LA

Trap laid to catch a criminal

Derivs : picar de arrastre - to trap a criminal

e.g. "Y además un ratero no se presta pa' eso, se marea porque cree que ya es picada de arrastre, dice "Uuy, de pronto yo la cometí. Este man me quiere picar de arrastre, me van a dar harina y todo."

(11)

"Picada de arrastre es como el imán a atraer a la persona al mismo sitio donde ha echado el delito . . . ¡cha! o' un canazo o le dan una palea."

(11)

Metaphor, based on the use of picada in the sense 'bait' in fishing, and on the metaphorical use of arrastrar (q.v.) in the sense 'to arrest'.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Animalization of person.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : sport

Cant.

PIEDRA, SACAR LA

(1) Of male, to produce orgasm in the female

(2) To make someone angry

Derivs : adj. piedro -- angry

DRAE : not with sacar; no related sense

A : not with sacar; no related sense

S : not with sacar; no related sense

Su : not with sacar; no related sense

DF : "Sacar a alguien de casilla, hacerle perder la paciencia.

En algunas partes del Tolima y en la Costa, en veces dan sentido obsceno a esta expresión."

FLIV : "vulg. Hacer producir el hombre a la mujer el orgasmo o máximo excitación sexual.// 2. Sentido desexualizado, también vulgar: sacarlo a uno de paciencia, hacerle dar rabia por cualquier asunto de la vida diaria."

e.g. (1) "Los hombres son muy egoístas. Generalmente lo único que les importa es su propia satisfacción. Les da igual que saquen la piedra a la mujer o no." (An2)

(2) "Me sacó la piedra con esa vaina. Aquí se hacen reuniones y reuniones y más nada. ¡No joda!" (I21)

"No trates de hablar con él ahorita. Está piedro porque la novia lo hizo esperar." (I6)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear, although the two senses

are clearly related in referring to an unusual degree of excitation.

(1) Mainly lower class

(2) Middle and lower classes

Tenor : (1) sex

(2) psychological characterisation

Vehicle : (1) and (2) physical action

cf. (2), bloque, volar el; cola, dar.

PILAS, PONERSE LAS

To do something with energy and enthusiasm, to get the finger out

Derivs : estar pilas - to be full of energy, to be on the ball

DRAE : no related sense

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "Vieras a Fulana. Se ha puesto las pilas, bueno pero ful.

Ahora está trabajando bien, se arregla y todo. Está muy chévere."

(I7)

"Ay, tú ¿por qué estás tan pilas hoy? Yo estoy cansadísima." (I6)

Metaphor, based on a notion of a new or renewed burst of energy.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract notion of energy through comparison with a purely physical one.

Objectification of human faculty.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : artefacts

PINTA, LA

Clothes

Derivs : v. ir empintado - to be well-dressed, elegant

DRAE : "fig. Aspecto o facha por donde se conoce la calidad buena o mala de personas o cosas."

A : as DRAE

S : no related sense

Su : no fig.

DF : "Ropa elegante."

BA : "Apariencia, presencia física de una persona."

e.g. "Y, ¿esa pinta? ¡Estás super-elegante!" (I7)

"Ahora, ha tocado el reverso de la moneda. Los veo cuando
van empintados." (I1)

Restriction of meaning from the metaphorical sense given by DRAE, Alonso and Bonilla Amado. As compared with DRAE, Bonilla's sense already shows a certain degree of restriction which is taken a stage further in the present sense.

An unusual case in that a fairly vague term is used to refer to a precise physical object.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. alcahuetas, las; mecha, la.

PINA, LA

Group of people in a position of power

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. Conjunto de personas o cosas unidas o agregadas estrechamente."

A : as DRAE

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

Bes : "pop. Reunión, conjunto."

e.g. "El consiguió ese puesto porque está en la piña. Conoce a la gobernadora y todo." (I6)

Restriction of meaning from the metaphorical sense given by DRAE and Besses, the basis of which is not entirely clear but which is probably the appearance of the exterior of the fruit: many small segments closely and firmly joined together.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Concretization of an abstract notion of interlocking by comparison with a physical one.

Objectification of persons.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : plants/food

cf. rosca, la.

PISARSE

To go away, to leave

Derivs : none

DRAE : no refl., no related sense

A : no refl., no related sense

S : no refl., no related sense

e.g. "Bueno, ¿nos pisamos? Nos vemos la semana entrante. ¡Chao!" (I21)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on cause for effect: taking steps leads to going away.

Foregrounding of the purely physical aspect of the action as opposed to its purpose or effect.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : physical action

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

cf. desmarcarse.

PISA--SUAVES, LOS

Rubber-soled shoes

Derivs : none

e.g. "Estos zapatos son de caucho. Se le dicen pisa-suaves." (II)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on cause for effect.

Foregrounding of the purpose rather than the form of the shoes, possibly due to the importance of quietness in certain criminal activities.

Personification through the attribution of a human activity to an inanimate object.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : physical characterisation

Cant.

cf. caminantes, los; gomas, las.

PISOS, LOS

Shoes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "A los (zapatos) de cuero se le dicen timbas, rieles, pisos,
timbales." (11)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on contiguity (with feet)
and cause for effect (actor for action).

Foregrounding of function rather than form.

Personification through the attribution of a human activity to an
inanimate object.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

cf. guayos, los; rieles, los; timbales, los.

PLANTE, EL

Pretence, false position taken on some point of fact or opinion

Derivs : n. el plantero - person who takes up a false position on a point of fact or opinion.

DRAE : "Concierto entre varias personas que viven agrupadas una misma autoridad o trabajan en común para exigir o rechazar airadamente alguna cosa."

e.g. "Yo no le tengo confianza a ese man. Te hace el plante de ser socialista pero yo no lo creo." (An4)

"El es plantero y medio. Aquí dice una cosa y en la casa de al lado dice otra." (An2)

Metaphor, based on the notion of taking a stance and defending it vigorously.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : deceit

Vehicle : bureaucracy

PLATANO, EL

Penis

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

FLIV : "pene."

BN : "Org. sex. masc."

e.g. "¿Te diste cuenta el plátano que tiene ese man? ¡Qué envergadura!"

(Anl)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape, with possible additional influence from the eating-sex association (cf. comerse (q.v.)).

Objectification of part of the human body.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body/sex

Vehicle : plants/food

cf. cañaña, la (1); vergüenza, la; visuaca, la.

PLATILLAR

Of a policeman, to accept a bribe .

Derivs : none

e.g. "Y dice el policía : "Eh, Chale, va, ni modo plata. Yo te
he platillado, en tal parte, me has dado billete, veinte pesos
caídos, te he zafado, pero al ir a meterte con mis familiares,
yo no me puedo aguantar."" (11.)

Neologism, based on assonantal association with plata and with
pasar el platillo in the sense 'to pass the hat round', 'to make a
collection'.

Police, underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime/money

Vehicle : money

Cant.

POLVO, EL

Sex act, screw

Derivs : v. echar un polvo - to make love, to screw

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

DF : "(Costa) Coito."

FLIII : echar un polvo : "realizar el coito."

Al : "Coitus, semel actus, virimulierisque. Vulgar."

BN : "Eyaculación seminal durante el coito."

Bes : echar un polvo : "pop. Fornicar."

e.g. "En cuanto a 'lovers', lo mismo de siempre. Polvos sin
importancia - nada estable." (I6)

"Ella echa sus polvitos - no dice nada pero nosotros le
sabemos todo." (I8)

Metaphor, based on the notion of a mass of particles and then transferred
by metonymy from semen to intercourse.

Objectification of human activity.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. echar un polvo, cf. comerse; culcar (v. culo, cl); mamar; tirar.

POIVRO DE GALLO

Said of a person who reaches sexual climax very quickly

Derivs : none

e.g. "El es polvo de gallo, mija. Ta, ta, y iya!" (An2)

Metaphor, based on brevity of coitus between cock and hen and the metaphorical use of polvo (q.v.) in the sense 'sex act'.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : animals

PUNTO ROJO, EL

A type of LSD

Derivs : none

e.g. "Cuando supe yo que existían cuatro clases de ácido: el triptonita, el otro, el otro, el punto rojo. (...) Con el punto rojo ese, uno ve como rayos ultravioleta y la ciudad alumbrada así." (11)

Metaphor, based on the shape and colour of the tablet and involving normalization.

Foregrounding the appearance rather than the content of the drug.

Mainly used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : physical characterisation

PURGANTE, EL

Irritating person

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "Ay, hija, si supieras el purgante que es mi jefe. Me tiene
loca, te digo." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on the notion of causing discomfort or suffering.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : medicine

QUEBRAR

To kill

Derivs : n. el quiebre -- killing, murder

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

Tr : "matar, asesinar (caliche)"

e.g. "Quebró al tipo y le tocó salirse del país corriendo." (S2)

"Al rebelarme a un policía, estoy buscando el quiebre, es decir,
la caída para que el policía me mate." (11)

Restriction of meaning from breaking in general to the specific
area of breaking a human body.

Objectification of the human body and normalization.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime/death

Vchicle : physical action

Cant.

cf. bajar (2); chuleta, dar.

RACAMANDACA

Expression of praise, great, tremendous, fantastic

Derivs : none

A : no entry, but, de racamacana : "de tomo y lomo."

Su : no entry, but, de racamacana : "vale tanto como encarecer
sus méritos (de una cosa) y virtudes ponderativamente."

DF : de racamandaca : "(Costa) De fibra, de tomo y lomo, de primer
orden."

FlIV : de raca mandaca : "fam. De primer orden, de gran mérito,
fortaleza, decisión y fervor." macana : "pene."

e.g. "Tienes que venir a esta fiesta. Te digo que va a ser
racamandaca. Pero, así. De primera." (I20)

Neologism, possibly based on the metaphorical use of macana cited
by Flórez and/or on assonantal association with the expression
macanudo, though the latter is not, to my knowledge, in common use
in Colombia.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle :

RAIMUNDO Y TODO EL MUNDO

Everyone, everyone and his brother

Derivs : none

LR : "Hay personas de lengua tan voraz que no dejan bien puesta
ninguna reputación, por lo cual pronto se las señala como
garleras, pues "hablan de ñor Raimundo y de todo el mundo.""

e.g. "No le cuentes ningún secreto a él, que mañana lo sabe
Raimundo y todo el mundo." (I6)

Assonantal association, the meaning of which depends on todo el mundo,
while Raimundo introduces factors of rhyme and rhythm and the
immediacy and emphasis of antonomasia.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor :

Vehicle : antonomasia

cf. in form, bacán como el alacrán; elegante como el elefante; hermoso
como el oso; legal como Pascual; tranquilo como Carilo.

RAMA, ESTRONCHARSE LA

Of a party, to come to an end through lack of funds

Derivs : none

A : no entry, but, estronchicar : "Arag., destrozar, romper los tallos de una planta."

e.g. "Digamos que uno esté en una fiesta en tal parte y se estroncha la rama. De pronto a un man de ésos le da rabia y se arma una pelotera." (I21)

Metaphor, based on the idea of the cutting off of the source of energy.

There may also be some connection with the metaphorical use of palo in the sense 'a drink' (cf. palo, dar (q.v.) and palo, montarse en el (q.v.)).

A functional metaphor of relations.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : plants

RANA, LA

Informer

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

e.g. "Se hizo amigo de un tombo y ahí se perdió. Lo corrieron del
barrio por rana." (An5)

Syntagmatic metaphor, based not on any characteristic attributed to the frog, but 'porque canta' (cf. metaphorical use of cantar in the sense 'to inform').

Foregrounding of the physical production of sound as opposed to the content thereof.

Animalization of person.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : animals

Cant.

RAYA, EL

Detective, plain clothes policeman

Derivs : none

DRAE : no masc., no fig.

A : no masc., no fig.

S : no masc., no fig.

Su : no related sense

BN : "Policia. U.n.c. Miembro de la PIP (Policia de Investigaciones del Perú). (Es un símil por los galones o rayas o líneas del uniforme.)"

e.g. "Metieron a un raya a buscarlo y se cayó." (An5)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear. If, as seems likely, the expression has been adopted into Colombia from Peru and Bendezú Neyra is right about the basis of it in that country, then the present sense is an interesting example of how the grounds for a metaphor can disappear over time. Only the 'investigation' element has been retained and the word is now used specifically to refer to non-uniformed police.

Objectification of person.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle : clothes

Cant.

REVENTARSE

To inform, to squeal

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no refl., no fig.

e.g. "El muchacho, te diré de que él no puede decir nada, si es serio,
claro está. Si se revienta lo matan a bala." (Il)

Metaphor, based on the notion of letting out something which had
previously been held back. There may also be a play on the word
cantar (cf. rana, la (q.v.)) through the intermediary of the cicada
which is said to sing when it is about to burst (cf. chicharra, la (q.v.)).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract notion of 'bursting' through comparison
with a physical one.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

REVOLBICHO, EL

Anus

Derivs : none

e.g. "Cuidado lo que le dices a ese man. ¡De pronto te saca el
revolbicho!" (An4)

"Él no sirve pa' nada. ¡La única manca que sabe usar es el
revolbicho!" (An5)

Neologism, based on assonantal association with revólver and the notion of an explosive sound. Mainly used in jocular context as in the examples.

Objectification of a part of the human body.

Lower class.

Tenor : parts of the body

Vehicle : crime

cf. chiquito, el; jopo, el; ned, el; orto, el.

RIELES, LOS

Shoes

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

Tr : "zapatos (caliche)"

BN : no entry, but, pinrieles : "zapatos. Es una amalgama literal
de : Pies sobre rieles."

e.g. "A los (zapatos) de cuero se le dicen timbas, ricles, pisos,
timbales." (11)

Metaphor, based on the notion of that on which movement takes place
and which comes between the moving part and the ground. There may
also be influence from the derivation suggested by Bendezú Neyra,
although the form pinrieles is not, to my knowledge, used in Barranquilla.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Foregrounding of the purpose rather than the form of shoes.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : artefacts/travel

cf. guayos, los; pisos, los; timbales, los.

ROBERTO, EL

Robbery

Derivs : none

BN : Verse con Roberto : "Haber sido víctima de hurto o robo."

e.g. "Cuando están planeando el Roberto no hablan con nadie más
por miedo de que haya alguno que cante." (I21)

Antonomasia, based on assonantal association with robo and introducing
an element of normalization.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime -

Vehicle : antonomasia

Cant.

ROSCA, LA

Closed circle of people in power in politics, business, etc.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

DF : "Camarilla."

FLII : "confabulación, manguala de los principales de un pueblo."

e.g. "Lo que pasa es que ahí hay una rosca y no dan puesto sino a sus familiares y amigos." (I9)

Metaphor, based on the use of rosca in the sense 'ring-shaped doughnut' and hence on the notion of a closed circle.

A functional metaphor.

Concretization of an abstract notion of closure through comparison with a physical one.

Objectification of persons.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : food

cf. piña, la.

RUEDA, LA

Year

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

W : "un año."

e.g. " - ¿Cuántas ruedas tienes tú? (I4)

- Yo tengo treinta años." (I1)

Metaphor, based on the notion of regular turning and returning.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract temporal notion of rotation by comparison with physical spatial rotation.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : time

Vehicle : artefacts/travel

RUEDO, IR(SE) AL

To get to the point

Derivs : none

DRAE : not with ir, no fig.

A : not with ir, no fig.

S : not with ir, no fig.

e.g. "Hombre, vámonos pal ruedo. Aquella mujer va pagando." (11)

Metaphor, based on the use of ruedo in the sense 'bull-ring arena' and hence on the notion of 'getting down to business', 'getting to the centre of activity'.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of centrality by comparison with a physical one.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor :

Vehicle : sport

SABERSELAS (TODAS)

To turn every situation to advantage, to be up to all the tricks

Derivs : none

e.g. "Entonces traen un vicioso que no se las sepa, que no sea ratero,
sino simplemente vicioso." (11)

"Muchos dicen que yo soy una enciclopedia porque me las sé todas."
(11)

Formula, involving extension of meaning of saber and indicating cunning
or smartness rather than knowledge, though open to punning on the
literal sense of saber (cf. second example).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

SABROSO

Expression of praise indicating enjoyment, great, good fun

Derivs : n. la sabrosura - enjoyment, enjoyableness

DRAE : "fig. Delicioso, gustoso, deleitable al ánimo."

A : as DRAE, and, la sabrosura : C.Am., Col., Cuba, P.R., Ven.,

"Calidad de lo sabroso; dulzura, fruición, deleite."

S : no entry, la sabrosura : "Vulgarmente, dulzura, fruición, deleite."

Su : no entry. la sabrosura : "(Barb.) gusto, deleite, exquisitez."

C : no entry. la sabrosura : "fruición, deleite."

DF : "Dícese de la persona simpática." la sabrosura : "Dulzura, fruición, deleite. Es un americanismo."

e.g. "Esa música es muy sabrosa. A mí me encanta." (I7)

" -- ¡Vamos a rumbear esta noche? (S1)

" -- Ay, ¡sí! ¡Qué sabrosura!" (I6)

Extension of meaning from enjoyment of taste to enjoyment of any kind.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : food

¡SALE EL SOL!

Expression indicating that the speaker is leaving, 'I'm off'

Derivs : none

e.g. "¿Son las ocho ya? Bueno, ¡sale el sol! Hasta luego.

Nos vemos."

(19)

Metaphor, based on a pun on the word salir and the implication that the speaker's departure will leave the company in darkness.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes, mainly youth.

Tenor : physical action

Vehicle :

I am told that the expression is taken from a pop record which was very popular in Barranquilla at one time, but I have been unable to ascertain the details thereof.

SALSOMANIA, LA

Obsessive liking for salsa music and dancing.

Derivs : n. el salsómano -- one who has an obsessive liking for salsa music and dancing

e.g. "Si quieres ver bailar salsa, tienes que ir a Cali. Ahí es donde es más fuerte la salsomanía." (I7)

"Tú sabes, hay un poco de salsómanos ahí." (I1)

Neologism, based on the word salsa which refers to a Caribbean dance rhythm now extremely popular in many parts of Colombia.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : music-

cf. in form, English Beatlemania.

SAPO, EL

Intruder, nosey-parker

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

DF : "Adulador, lambón, bajo soplón."

FLII : "el que habla mucho y sin sustancia. Chismoso, correveidile."

W : "delator."

GI : "delator, espía."

BN : "Entrometido, curioseador. u.t.c. Mirón./Delator, acusete."

e.g. "Yo no sé por qué la gente aguanta a ese sapo. A mí me parece
jartísimo, siempre metiéndose en todas partes." (Anl)

Metaphor, based on a view of the toad as an animal which slips into the house unnoticed and is always unwanted when discovered, and also on the protruberance of its eyes which makes it seem to be watching everything.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of inclination to spying through comparison with a physical suitability therefor.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

The senses 'informer' and 'gossip' given by some of the dictionaries are clearly related to the present sense in that knowledge of other peoples affairs is a prerequisite for talking about them.

cf. chivo, el; pato, el.

SARAPICO, EL

Active and annoying child

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

Su : "U. incorrectamente por gusarapo. Dicho barbarismo se debe a una aféresis que suprimió la primera sílaba en uno de los diminutivos de este vocablo (gusarapico)."

e.g. "Ese niño me va a volver loca. No para en todo el día -- te digo que es un verdadero sarapico." (An2)

Metaphor, based on the sense of sarapico given by Sundheim and hence on a notion of constant darning about in an uncontrollable fashion. Smallness of size is also a factor.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

SARDINO, EL

Teenybopper, youngster

Derivs : fem. la sardina

DRAE : no masc., no fig.

A : no masc., no fig.

S : no masc., no fig.

e.g. "No, a ese sitio no van sino puros sardinos. Yo prefiero ir a alguna parte donde haya gente mayor." (I7)

Metaphor, based on the small size of the fish and on the fact that all sardines look alike - a reference to the tendency of teenagers to dress and behave alike.

A metaphor of appearance and function.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : mildly pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. cocacolo, el.

SEMILLA, LA

Clitoris

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

RLIV : "vulva."

e.g. "Yo no creo lo que dicen que uno no siente nada sino en la
semilla. Adentro también se siente." (I6)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape.

Objectification of a part of the human body.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body/sex

Vehicle : plants

I have not come across the sense given by Flórez and assume it to be
a synecdochic extension of the present sense.

cf. pepita, la.

SERRUCHO, EL

Deal in which dishonestly obtained money is divided between two or more partners

Derivs : v. serruchar -- to divide the proceeds from a dishonest deal

DRAE : no fig.

A : hacer un serrucho : Col., P.R., S. Dgo., "Pagar entre dos o más personas por partes alícuotas el gasto de algo."

S : no related sense

DF : "Acción y efecto de serruchar, o sea de partir las utilidades de un negocio, especialmente de un ilícito."

FLIV : "fig. y fam. Acción de serruchar. Dinero que obtiene cada una de las personas participantes en una operación ilícita."

serruchar : "Dividir entre dos o más personas, sobre todo empleados, el dinero obtenido en una operación ilícita."

e.g. "Ahí no hay examen. Te venden el pase y después hacen serrucho."

(118)

"Lo botaron del puesto porque estaba serruchando con los tipos esos que ayudan a la gente a falsificar los papeles. Dicen que se hizo un dineral con eso."

(117)

Metaphor, based on the notion of dividing something into parts.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Foregrounding of the action of division as opposed to the object divided.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : money/deceit

Vehicle : artefacts

I have not encountered the more general sense given by Alonso.

SOBRADO

Expression of praise, great, fantastic, too much

Derivs : syn. sobrado de lote

DRAE : "Rico y abundante de bienes." no fig.

A : no related sense

e.g. "Hemos ganado (...) un balance más o menos regular para el
equipo porque estamos jugando con equipos infantiles y podemos .
. . . mejor dicho, el equipo está sobrado." (I16)
"Presentamos su programa Sábado Violento, sobrado de lote,
pasado de calidad." (M3)

Hyperbolic metaphor, based on the notion of super-abundance of
something desirable and involving a logical contradiction similar
to that of the English too much.

Concretization of an abstract concept of qualitative richness
through comparison with quantitative riches.

Lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : money

cf. pasado de calidad

SOLDADO, EL

Criminal who works as a subordinate to a gang leader

Derivs : none

e.g. "Tiene que arreglarse con él (el padrino), loco, Ud. es
soldado del man." (11)

Metaphor, based on similarity of relative status, power and responsibility.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Normalization of criminal activity.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : army

Cant.

SOLLARSE

To go mad

Derivs : n. el solle - madness; adj. sollado - mad; v. sollar - to
please very much, to send

DRAE : no refl., no fig.

A : no fig.

DF : "(Costa) Deshollejar; resbalar; deslizarse. 2. (Costa) Volverse
loco." sollado : "(Costa) loco."

e.g. "¿Supiste lo que hizo Fulano? No, mijo. Ahora sí definitivamente
se solló." (I9)

"Estuvimos fumando vareta y bailando toda la noche. ¡Qué solle!" (I7)

"Ese man es como sollado oye; yo no le entiendo nada de esa carreta
que echa." (I6)

"A mí me solla esa música. Me parece fabulosa." (I21)

Metaphor, based on the literal sense of the word cited by Di Filippo,
and hence on a notion of losing control over one's actions, of 'losing
one's grip', (cf. English to go off the rails).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of loss of mental control by
comparison with loss of physical control.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : physical action

sollado, cf. colón.

SOMBRA, HACER LA

To frequent a place with the aim of meeting a particular person

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : not with hacer, no fig.

e.g. "Él está haciendo la sombra en el bar ese desde que supo que
ella a veces entra ahí." (I22)

Metaphor, based on the notion of being attached to a place, becoming
a part of it (cf. English to shadow).

A functional metaphor of relations.

Foregrounding of physical presence as opposed to the purpose thereof.

Objectification of person.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : physical action

SUPER-

Superlative prefix, used with any adjective

Derivs : none

DRAE : "elemento compositivo que entra en la formación de algunas voces españolas con el significado de "preeminencia" (...), "grado sumo" (...), "exceso o demasía."

A : as DRAE

e.g. "Me parece superchévere que estés escribiendo." (I6)

"Uuy, ese almacén es supercaro. Yo no me puedo dar el lujo de hacer compras ahí." (An1)

Extension of meaning from quantitative superlative to more generalized reinforcement of the meaning of any adjective to which it may be prefixed.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : superlative

Vehicle : superlative

TAQUITO. SACAR DE

To resolve a difficult situation with ingenuity and aplomb

Derivs : none

e.g. "En un momento dado estuvo difícil la vaina, pero él la
sacó de taquito y su mujer no supo nada." (An5)

Metaphor, based on a certain move in football in which the player with great agility flicks the ball out of his opponent's reach with a rapid movement of the heel.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of mental skill and agility by comparison with physical skill.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : sport

TARJETA DE CREDIMUELA, LLEVAR

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : none

e.g. "Nos vamos todos para la cañaña y vamos a llevar tarjeta de credimuela." (M3)

Metaphorical neologism, based on a combination of tarjeta de crédito and muela, in its metaphorical sense, (cf. muela, dar (q.v.)).

The reference to credit brings the expression right up to date and revivifies a well-worn metaphor.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : money

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de; miquear (v. mico, el); Miki Creiser, irselas de; muela, dar; palo, montarse en el; tubería, poner la.

TEMPLADO

Adjective indicating respect, admiration and a little fear; tough, cool

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fam. Valiente con serenidad."

A : as DRAE, and "Nav. Animado, de buen humor, jovial."

S : Mex., Ven., "Valiente, valeroso, en términos absolutos."

FLIII: "valiente"

Cu : "duro, riguroso, severo."

Al : "Recio, enérgico, hablando de personas: fuerte, hablando de cosas. U.t. en Colombia."

e.g. "¡Ese combo es templado! Mientras son amigos tuyos, chévere, pero cuidado vayas a enemistarlos." (An4)

Extension of meaning, in that it embraces all the senses given by the dictionaries: it implies physical strength, courage, toughness, intelligence and affability.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. teso.

TENAZ

- (1) Of people, of a strong personality, direct, straightforward;
of strong, perhaps controversial, views, readily expressed; outspoken,
uncompromising even formidable.
- (2) Of situations, difficult to tackle or resolve, requiring strength
of character in being dealt with

Derivs : n. la tenacidad - quality of being tenaz, (of people or
situations).

DRAE : "fig. Firme, porfiado y pertinaz en un propósito."

A : as DRAE

e.g. (1)(a) "Ella parece tímida y todo pero es tenaz. Dice unas
cosas más chéveres." (I7)

(1)(b) "¡Carajo! Ese es el chico más tenaz que yo he conocido.
Yo no sé cómo se atreve a decirle a uno esas vainas." (I6)

(2) "Irse a Europa, solo, sin conocer a nadie - ¡eso es tenaz!" (1)
(I17)

"¡Así te dijo, sin excusas ni nada? ¡Qué tenacidad!" (I9)

"Y, ¿tú tienes que dar siete horas seguidas y después ir
a la clase de alemán? ¡Qué tenacidad!" (I6)

In the first sense, extension of meaning, from tenacity to more general
strength of character and in particular to outspokenness. Usually
indicates admiration or at least approval (e.g. (1)(a)), but may
on occasion be used pejoratively when the quality is considered too
extreme (e.g. (1)(b)).

In the second sense, metaphor through a metonymic process in which the quality required of a person in a certain situation is transferred to the situation itself.

Personification of an abstract quality of situations through the attribution to it of a human quality.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) and (2) psychological characterisation

Vehicle : (1) and (2) psychological characterisation

(1) cf. also Appendix.

TESO

Adjective indicating respect, admiration and a little fear; tough, cool

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. Valiente, animoso y esforzado."

A : "Tieso, duro, firme en sentido material y moral."

S : no fig.

- e.g. " - Quieren haber otra partida de botella y . . . No, en
el barrio del Carmen te pueden decir quién soy yo. Yo defiendo
ese barrio. 51 con 21B. (1) (I1)
- Teso, esa vaina. (I21)
- Mhm. Teso, teso, teso." (I1)

Extension of meaning to include notions of mental as well as physical
superiority and implying admiration on the part of the speaker. (2)

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : physical characterisation

cf. templado.

- (1) These numbers refer to streets.
- (2) An interesting illustration of this is that a well-known Barranquilla pop group is called Fruko y sus tesos.

TETA, LA

Stupid, slow-witted person

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no related sense

e.g. "¡Ese pelado sí que es una teta! No es capaz de entender lo más mínimo de lo que le digo." (I21)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear, though it may involve a slight on the intelligence of women, particularly those who are sexually attractive (cf. English dumb blond). Alternatively, it may be a synecdochic variant of vaca, la (q.v.), involving personification.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation/pejorative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body

cf. vaca, la.

TIGRE, EL

Astute and talented person

Derivs : none

DRAE : "fig. Persona cruel y sanguinaria."

A : as DRAE

S : no related sense

Su : no fig.

e.g. "No te preocupes. Esa venta te la arregla mi hermano. Él es un
tigre para eso." (An2)

Metaphor, based on the S. American use of tigre in the sense 'jaguar'
and presumably referring to the multifarious natural and supernatural
powers attributed to the jaguar in indigenous mythologies. (1)

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation/appreciative expression

Vehicle : animals

(1) cf., e.g. Reichel Dolmatoff (1972 : 83ff).

TIMBALES, LOS

Shoes

Derivs : syn. los timbas

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no related sense

e.g. "A los (zapatos) de cuero se le dicen timbas, rieles, pisos,
timbales." (Il)

Metaphor, based on similarity of sound.

Foregrounding of what under normal circumstances would be considered a secondary characteristic, but which presumably assumes greater importance for the criminal (cf. pisa-suaves, los (q.v.)).

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : clothes

Vehicle : music

Cant.

cf. guayos, los; pisos, los; rieles, los.

TIMBRARSE

To realise, to cotton on to something

Derivs : none

DRAE : no refl., no fig.

A : no refl., no fig.

e.g. "O sea lo que uno se paga un pato, (...) Yo me timbro de que el
man está robando en la casa. Y todo el mundo dice "¡Fulano!" (Il)

Metaphor, based on the use of bells to draw attention to something.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of the abstract concept of a mental signal through
comparison with a physical signal.

Lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : artefacts

TIRAR

To make love, to screw

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : "Con relación a la mujer o a una hembra cualquiera, tener coito con ella, copularla. A veces lo dice también la mujer respecto del hombre. Muy usado principalmente en Méjico y Cuba. Es término bajo, perteneciente al argot español."

Cu : "joder."

DF : "Fornicar, cohabitar."

FLIV : tirarse a una mujer : "vulg. poseerla sexualmente."

Al : "Fornicar, cohabitar. U.t. en Chile, Argentina."

BN : "Copular o cubrir el macho a la hembra."

Bes : "Fornicar. Tirarse a una : Poseer a una mujer."

e.g. "¿Cómo te pareció el cuadro ese de los dos maricas que están tirando?"

(I8)

Metaphor, based presumably on the notion of throwing one's partner down (cf. English to lay), though this comparison has been lost to a great extent in Barranquilla where the verb is used not transitively, as indicated by some of the dictionaries, but intransitively, as in the example.

Foregrounding of a secondary characteristic of the action.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : sex

Vehicle : physical action

cf. comerse; cular (v. culo, el); mamar; polvo, echar un.

TOMBO, EL

Policeman

Derivs : none

A : Chile, "entre ladrones, policía." el botón : Arg., Chile, Urug.,

"En argot, agente de policía."

S : "Voz de germanía, que la picaresca chilena usa para llamar al agente de policía o vigilante."

DF : "Agente de policía o vigilante."

W : "agente de policía."

BN : "Policía o guardián del orden público."

Gu : no entry, but, el botón : "Agente de policía. Se le ha dado este nombre porque prende. (lunf.)."

e.g. "Al policía le dicen tombo, aguacate."

(11)

Backslang from botón, though this latter is not, to my knowledge, used in Barranquilla.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : police

Vehicle : clothes

Cant.

cf. aguacate, el; Castalia, el; ley, el.

TORO CACHON, EL

Cuckold

Derivs : none

S : no entry, but, él que con toros sueña, que no se case : "refr.

mejicano. Alude al celoso o al que piensa que al casarse su mujer no le sea fiel."

DF : no entry, but, cachón : "(Costa) Dicese del hombre que tolera las infidelidades de su esposa."

e.g. "Se puso histérico porque le decían toro cachón. Dizque a la mujer de él se le ve seguido con el vecino." (I21)

Metaphor, probably derived from the metaphorical use, in many Spanish-speaking countries, of cabrón, in the same sense, through the intermediary of cachos (cf. cachos, poner (q.v.)), the essential element of the metaphor being the possession of horns. Cabrón in the sense 'cuckold' is not, to my knowledge, in common use in Barranquilla, arguably because of possible confusion with cabrero (cf. cabrearse (q.v.)) in the sense 'angry'.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : sex/deceit

Vehicle : animals

TRABA, LA

Effect of cannabis, buzz

Derivs : v. trabarse - to get stoned

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

DF : no entry. trabarse : "Enmarihuanarse."

e.g. "El hashish tampoco me gustó. Metf. Traba de cuarentiocho horas.

Mete y mete y mete." (I1)

"Se fueron. Tenían ganas de trabarse pero yo no quería que

fumaran aquí." (I17)

Metaphor, through a metonymic process based on cause for effect.

Foregrounding of a secondary characteristic of the drugged state.

Normalization of an illegal activity.

Mainly drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : speech

TRABAJADOR DE SUEÑO, EL

Thief who enters houses at night when the owners are asleep

Derivs : none

Tr : no entry, but, trabajador : "ladrón (caliche y replana)."

trabajar al sueño : "robar de noche (replana)."

e.g. "(...) el trabajador de sueño fino, fino, no tiene que usar Yodora, no tiene que usar perfume extravagante y tiene que entrar a la parte donde se va a meter sin ropaje ninguno, porque el solo roce del pantalón puede despertar. Los abanicos no se los llevan porque al desconectarlos se puede despertar y en esta época de calor más." (11)

Restriction of meaning, based on the use of trabajar (q.v.) in the sense 'to steal'.

Foregrounding of the state of the victims as opposed to the activity of the criminal.

Normalization of a criminal activity.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : work

Cant.

TRABAJAR

To steal (intransitive)

Derivs : none

DRAE : "Germ. Hurtar o robar."

A : as DRAE

S : no fig.

W : "practicar algunas de las especialidades del choreo."

BN : "Delinquir."

Gu : no entry, but, el trabajo : "Robo y forma en que se efectúa."

Tr : "robar (caliche, coa, gíria, lunf. y replana.)"

e.g. " - El viejo ese ¿ya no está trabajando? (An1)

- No, no, no. Se espaturró. Está en la muni." (An5)

Restriction of meaning, from work in general to one particular kind of work, (cf. English job).

Normalization of criminal activity.

Mainly underworld.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : work

Cant.

¡TRANQUILO COMO CAMILO!

Don't worry, it's alright

Derivs : none

e.g. " - Ay, ¡perdóname! Se me cayó la taza.

- ¡Tranquilo como Camilo! No hay daño." (S2)

Assonantal association, in which the meaning is that of tranquilo (mainly used as a reassuring reply to apologies or solicitous enquiries) and Camilo is used to enliven this very frequently used expression with rhyme, rhythm and the immediacy lent by antonomasia.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : antonomasia

cf. in form, bacán como el alacrán; elegante como el elefante;

hermoso como el oso; legal como Pascual; Raimundo y todo el mundo.

TRONCO, EL (de algo)

Expression indicating great size

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

DF : "Muestra notable, ejemplar extraordinario, más que mediano.

En este sentido rige la preposición de, y tiene fuerza de aumentativo o ponderativo."

Al : "En frases como éstas : Ser un tronco de hombre, un tronco de mujer etc. (...) muestra notable, ejemplar extraordinario, más que mediano (...) tiene fuerza de aumentativo o ponderativo."

e.g. "Uuy, viene con un bastón 7-7 (...) Eso es un tronco de puñal." (Il)

Metaphor, based on the notion of size and strength.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : augmentative expression

Vehicle : plants

TU SABES Y VAINA

Pause-filler. cf. English 'you see', 'you know'

Derivs : none

e.g. "Bueno, cuadro, eso se llama, tú sabes y vaina, retentiva en
el coco." (11)

Formula, which through continual use in a wide range of contexts has lost all cognitive meaning and is used as a pause-filler.

The addition of y vaina (cf. vaina, la (q.v.)) to the long-standing pause-filler tú sabes would seem to indicate a certain degree of awareness of this lack of content (cf. mejor dicho chicho (v. mejor dicho.)).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

cf. ¡analiza!; mejor dicho.

TUBERIA. PONER LA

To drink at someone else's expense

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

BN : "Garganta."; not with poner

e.g. "Oye, a mi hermano lo pagaron hoy. Vamos a ponerle la tubería." (An4)

Metaphor, based on the notion of channelling off resources. There may also be some connection with the figurative use of tubería cited by Bendeñú Neyra, but I have not come across this use of the word in Barranquilla (cf. canal, poner la (q.v.)).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Lower class.

Tenor : alcohol

Vehicle : artefacts

cf. cachete, ir de; canal, poner la; cañaña, poner la; gorra, ir de; miquear (v. mico, el); Miki Creiser, irselas de; muela, dar; palo, montarse en el; tarjeta de credimuela, llevar.

TUMBAR

To steal (transitive)

Derivs : none

e.g. "Se metieron en la casa esa y tumbaron unas joyas. Dizque valen bastante."
(An2)

Metaphor, based on the notion of the forceful removal of something from its proper position (cf. English to knock off).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Foregrounding of the purely physical aspect of the action as opposed to its social or legal significance.

Normalization of a criminal activity.

Underworld and lower class.

Tenor : crime

Vehicle : physical action

Cant.

VA JUGANDO

Formula indicating agreement with a proposal or suggestion of some kind. 'You're on!', 'it's a deal!'

Derivs : none

e.g. " - ¿Por qué no arreglamos así? Un día cocino yo y tú haces la limpieza y al otro día hago yo la limpieza y cocinas tú.

- Bueno, okey. Va jugando." (S2)

Extension of meaning, from acceptance of a bet in gambling, to acceptance of a proposal of any kind.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : acceptance

Vehicle : gambling

cf. ¡meto!

VACA, LA

Stupid, clumsy person

Derivs : none

DRAE : la vaca de la boda : "fig. y fam. Persona que, como la vaca que solían correr para festejar las bodas rústicas, sirve de diversión a los concurrentes a una fiesta, o paga los gastos que en ella se hacen."

A : Col., "Persona inútil y corpulenta."

S : no fig.

Su : no related sense

DF : "Persona inútil, inhábil."

e.g. "No, yo no lo llevo conmigo cuando voy de viaje. Es una vaca, me daña todo." (18)

Metaphor, based on a view of the cow as an unintelligent and physically awkward beast (cf. English silly moo.).

A functional metaphor of activity.

Animalization of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation/pejorative expression

Vehicle : animals

cf. teta, la.

VACILAR

To speak in jest, to pull someone's leg

Derivs : vacilar aguao - to make a joke which is unfunny or in bad taste

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

DF : "Entretener con evasivos a alguno."

e.g. "No. Eso no es cierto. Uds. me están vacilando." (I19)

"Ay, Dios mío, que no venga Fulano porque después se pone a vacilar aguao, tú sabes cómo es él, y se nos acaba la fiesta." (I7)

Metaphor, based on a notion of uncertain position.

A functional metaphor of activity.

Concretization of an abstract concept of ambivalence through comparison with physical wavering.

The derivative form vacilar aguao is based on the notion of something lacking its proper content or composition and also on the idea of water as an extinguisher (cf. English wet blanket).

Also a functional metaphor.

Again, concretization is involved - an abstract concept of lack of content and quelling of enthusiasm is compared with physical dilution and extinguishing powers.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : physical action

The sense given by Di Filippo is clearly related in that it involves the notion of 'not talking straight', but it is more generalised, lacking the notion of humour.

VACUNADO, ESTAR

To be proof against something :

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

e.g. "El dice que está vacunado contra la influencia gringa, pero
mira cómo se viste - ¡blue jeans y todo!" (I6)

Metaphor, based on the notion of protection against something
undesirable or damaging.

A functional metaphor of relations.

Concretization of an abstract concept of mental strength and
protection by comparison with physical, medical protection.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : medicine

VAINA, LA

Thing, thingummyjig, business, affair

Derivs : interj. ¡qué vaina! - expression of annoyance, displeasure
or indignation. form. dejarse de vainas - to talk straight

DRAE : Col., C.R., Ven., "Contrariedad, molestia."

A : Am., "Vulg. Contrariedad, molestia, jeringa. Col., Cosa,
asunto, problema, ataque verbal."

S : C.Am., S.Am., P.R., "molestia, jeringa, pejuguera, contratiempo,
contrariedad; cosa que produce desazón o desagrado."

DF : "Cosa, objeto determinado." ¡que vaina! : "Exclamación de
desagrado." ¿qué es la vaina? : "¿Qué pasa?"

FLI : "utilizan esta palabra para remplazar los nombres de muchas
cosas, de toda clase de objetos, nombres de los cuáles no se
acuerdan por el momento, o no hay interés en precisar porque
las circunstancias en que se habla y la confianza que se tienen
los presentes permiten saber inmediatamente de qué se trata."

BN : "Molestia, fastidio. // Asunto, tema, u.t.c. Problema;
preocupación insistente."

e.g. "Oye, esa vaina (la canalización del arroyo) sirve contra la
polución. ¿Tú sabes por qué? Porque tú sabes que esa vaina
(el arroyo) viene de por allá . . ."

(13)

"¿Tú no has metido esa vaina (punto rojo)?" (I21)

"Yo esa vaina la capté. Ahora que estuve trabajando con Pepsi Cola, capté ese fenómeno." (I3)

"Entonces, ¿no me estaba diciendo de la vaina de . . . antes del canal?" (J2)

"¡Qué vaina! A mí sí me parece jartísimo todo ese papeleo." (I6)

"Dejémonos de vainas, ese tipo es un ladrón, no se puede decir de otro modo." (I9)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear, but which has achieved enormous popularity and is used with remarkable frequency in Barranquilla (1). It can refer to any object (first two examples) or situation (second two examples) which is indeterminate (fourth example) or whose name cannot be brought immediately to mind (third example) or is considered unnecessary due to context (first two examples).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : plants/weapons

The sense 'annoyance' cited by some of the dictionaries is apparent only in the interjection ¡qué vaina!

(1) Flórez (FlI) suggests that vaina is more frequently used in Bogotá than in other parts of Colombia. However, in my experience, it is of more common occurrence in Barranquilla, where it is considered acceptable, than in Bogotá, where it is considered slightly vulgar. He also suggests that it is mainly used by men ("las mujeres dicen más bien cosa, cosita, cosiata, cosiánfira, coso, cosito" (FlII)). Again, my experience differs in that I have found this to be true in Bogotá but not in Barranquilla where it is freely used by both sexes - the difference presumably being due to the aforementioned difference in social status of the word in the two cities.

VALE

Vocative, used in addressing friends

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : Ven., "Camarada."

S : Mex., Col., Ven., "Vulgarismo, por camarada, compinche o
compañero."

' Su : no fig.

Cu : ser vale con alguno : "tener valimiento con él, ser su amigo
o compinche."

DF : "Camarada, compinche, compañero."

GI : "es tratamiento general en casi todo el país, entre amigos y
desconocidos. Se usa con más frecuencia entre hombres que
entre mujeres."

e.g. "Oye, vale, acompáñame a la tienda."

(An4)

Abbreviation of valedor in the sense 'protector'.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : personal relations

I would agree with Gómez de Ivashevsky that use of this expression
is more frequent among men than among women.

cf. cuadro; mano.

VARETA, LA

Marihuana cigarette, joint

Derivs : syn. la varilla

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no fig.

DF : "Uno de los nombres de la marihuana. Es voz de germanía."

e.g. "¿No quieres fumar vareta? Aquí tengo una hierba superchévere." (I7)

"Ay, ¡qué jartera que no tengamos monte! Sería increíble fumarnos
una varilla ahora." (I6)

Metaphor, based on similarity of shape.

Normalization of an illegal activity..

Mainly used by drug-takers.

Tenor : drugs

Vehicle : artefacts/plants

VARILLA, TIRAR

To request a loan, without warning and without knowing what the outcome will be

Derivs : syn. echar varilla

Su : no entry, echar varillas : "Es bárbara la frase figurada "echar varillas", que se usa en Río Hacha. Dígase hacer calendarios : hacer sobre una cosa cálculos o pronósticos más o menos variables."

DF : no entry, echar varilla : "(Costa) Probar tretas para sacarle dinero a una persona; tratar de engañarla o embaucarla."

e.g. "El tira mucha varilla, te digo. Estábamos hablando con Fulano y de pronto le pide plata. Yo no sabía pa'onde mirar."

(An1 (student))

"Me voy donde mi papá a echarle varilla. ¿Quién sabe? De pronto me presta algoito."

(An4)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not clear.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : money

Vehicle : artefacts

Contrary to what is implied in Sundheim's and Di Filippo's entries, I have found the more frequently used verb in this expression to be tirar, not echar, perhaps due to assimilation with tirar el gancho ciego (v. gancho ciego, tirar el).

cf. gancho ciego, tirar el.

VERGA, LA, ES EL ARROYO DE REBOLO

Formula indicating unlimited praise

Derivs : none

e.g. " - Y, ¿supiste que el Junior ganó la copa? Cheverísimo,
cierto?" (An4)

- Uuf. La verga es el arroyo de Rebolo." (An4)

Formula, combining the appreciative value of verga (cf. verga, ser la
(q.v.)) with the notion of size implied in el arroyo de Rebolo (1).

A strongly local expression, as the reference to the stream would be meaningless to anyone not acquainted with Barranquilla in the rainy season.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body/sex

cf. verga, la, herida y con sal.

- (1) Barranquilla has no system of street drainage and during and after a rainstorm many streets turn into rushing streams as the water pours down towards the river. The arroyo de Rebolo, which has just been canalized, was the most notorious of these, reaching such torrential proportions that it not infrequently washed away houses and caused deaths by drowning.

VERGA, LA, HERIDA Y CON SAL

Formula indicating unlimited praise

Derivs : none

e.g. "-¿Qué tal un carro de ésos, loco? (An4)

-¡La verga herida y con sal!" (An5)

Formula, based on the appreciative value of verga (cf. verga, ser la (q.v.)), and extended to make the image more graphic and to denote an extreme reaction on the part of the speaker.

Concretization of an abstract concept of a mental impression by comparison with a physical sensation, involving irony in the choice of an unpleasant sensation.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body/sex

cf. verga, la, es el arroyo de Rebolo.

VERGA, SER LA

To be unusually strong and physically gifted and respected for that reason

Derivs : none

e.g. "Cuidado te vayas a meter con él, cuadro; te vuelve una nada.

Él es la verga."

(An5)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker - great value is attached to the penis and to physical strength.

The comparison also foregrounds the idea that strength is an essential attribute of masculinity.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body/sex

VERGA, VALER

To be worthless

Derivs : none

e.g. "Te digo que esta hijueputa universidad vale verga. ¡Mírame esta porquería!" (An4 (student))

Metaphor, involving the phenomenon of reversal of values which sometimes occurs in slang (cf. iculo (de algo)! (q.v.)), and standing in marked contrast to other metaphorical uses of verga (cf. verga, la, es el arroyo de Rebolo (q.v.), verga, la, herida y con sal (q.v.), verga, ser la (q.v.)). The essential element seems to be the expression of a strong emotional reaction on the part of the speaker.

Concretization of an abstract quality.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : pejorative expression

Vehicle : parts of the body/sex

cf. valer cuero (v. cuero, el).

VERGUENZA, LA

Penis

Derivs : none

DRAE : "pl. partes externas de los órganos humanos de la generación."

A : "pl. Partes pudendas."

S : no related sense

Ce : "pl. cojones, partes naturales."

e.g. "A mí sí me molesta esa costumbre que tienen algunos hombres
de rascarse la verguenza. ¡Qué horror!" (Anl)

Metaphorical euphemism, based on assonantal association with verga
and a metonymic transference to the penis itself of the sentiment
felt about it.

An unusual case in the application of an abstract term to a concrete
object.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : parts of the body/sex

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

cf. cañaña, la (1); plátano, el; visuaca, la.

VERRACO

- (1) Augmentative adjective used to intensify whatever quality is being referred to, and unmarked as regards positive or negative valuation.
- (2) Appreciative adjective; great, fantastic

Derivs : n. la verraquera - someone or something of great quality, the greatest

DRAE : no adj. no fig. la verraquera : no fig.

A : Ven., "Con el verbo ser, dñc. de la persona valiente."

la verraquera : no related sense

S : no fig. la verraquera : no related sense

DF : "Hombre que tiene ira o rabia. 3. Valiente obstinado.

4. (A. y Cald.) Grande, excelente."

FLIV : "se emplea mucho tal palabra pero con significados no muy concretos ni precisos. Así dicen que es verraco un hombre inteligente, un hombre que sabe mucho, que trabaja mucho, que es muy valiente, muy hábil o experto, uno que está con fuerte deseo sexual. También es verraca una cosa muy grande, difícil, buena, bonita, excelente, magnífica, extraordinaria, etc."

la verraquera : "Puede significar alguna vez deseo sexual, pero lo más corriente es que se use con sentidos muy diferentes y también, a veces, imprecisos, (en general implica ponderación, positiva o negativa.) Verraquera es valentía, habilidad, ira, fuerza, gran tamaño, mucho trabajo, belleza, dificultad, carestía, etc."

e.g. (1) "¡Qué calor tan verraco!, ¿cierto?" (An5 (taxi-driver))

"¡Carajo! Nos da un ejercicio así verraco y después se sorprende porque no lo sabemos hacer." (I20)

(2) "(...) la jugada de gol acá por parte del compañero, que tiene una cara de un centro delantero de esos verraquísimos."

(I3)

"A mí me parece que el problema de la mujer en todos los campos es que una mujer no puede ser (...) estándar; la mujer tiene que ser la verraquera, tiene que ser lo máximo. Para que una mujer sea reconcida y sea repetada tiene que dar el máximo."

(I6)

Metaphor, the basis of which is not entirely clear though it probably involves the notion of strength, courage and resilience.

A functional metaphor of activity.

I would suggest that the imprecision of meaning lamented by Flórez is at least partially resolved by the isolation of two senses as proposed here.

Concretization of abstract qualities.

In certain contexts, animalization of persons (e.g. third and fourth examples), in others, of objects (e.g. first and second examples).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : (1) augmentative expression

(2) appreciative expression

Vehicle : (1) and (2) animals

cf. (1), cipote.

VIAJE, EL

Any situation or activity

Derivs : form. embarcarse en el viaje ~ to become involved in an activity, to be into something

DRAE : no fig. embarcar : "fig. Hacer que uno intervenga en una empresa difícil o arriesgada. Lo EMBARCARON en una aventura."

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no related sense

e.g. "Lo que pasa es que a él le interesa ese viaje del baile y todo." (I7)

"¿Estás embarcado en el viaje de 'Lucecita' y eso?" (I4)

Metaphor, based on the use of viaje in the metaphorical sense 'effect of hallucinogenic drugs', which in turn was modelled on the English use of trip in the same sense. This use of viaje has been largely replaced by enfielada (cf. enfielarse (q.v.)) and viaje has now been generalized to refer to any activity which absorbs one's attention.

A functional metaphor of relations.

The derivative form with embarcarse is a play on the two senses of viaje (literal and present), as well as using the figurative sense of embarcar cited by DRAE.

Concretization of an abstract concept of involvement through
comparison with physical movement (cf. English to be sent).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : general

Vehicle : travel

cf. nota, la.

embarcarse en el viaje, cf. enfletarse (2).

VICARIO, EL

Father

Derivs : fem. la vicaria - mother

DRAE : no fig.

A : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "Todavía no sé si podré ir. Tengo que pedirle permiso a
mi vicario." (An1)

"No, la vicaria mía es muy chévere. Nunca me regaña aunque
llegue tarde y borracho." (An4)

Syntagmatic metaphor, based on the use of the word padre to refer to clergy as well as to fathers. The choice of vicario as opposed to any other member of the clergy is probably governed by assonantal association with viejo.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : family

Vehicle : religion

cf. vikingo, el.

VIEJO (FULANO)

Vocative used in addressing friends, in conjunction with the person's name

Derivs : none

DRAE : no voc., no fig.

A : no voc., no fig.

S : no voc., no related sense

e.g. "Y el tipo, que es mamador de gallo, le dice "Oye, viejo Pedro, ven acá y me ayudas" y el otro se le pone cabrero y dice "No me trate así, ¡carajo! Que no me llamo Pedro ni soy su amigo." (I21)

Metaphor, based on the affection which is felt for people (or things) which have been known for a very long time, (cf. English use of old in a similar sense, also French mon vieux).

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : personal relations

Vehicle : age

VIKINGO, EL

Father

Derivs : fem. la vikinga - mother

DRAE : no fig.

S : no fig.

e.g. "Oyeme, y ¿se cabreó tu vikingo cuando hiciste esa fiesta en la casa y se rompió todo?" (An4)

"Imagínate que se peleó con la vikinga y casi que lo echa de la casa." (An4)

Assonantal association with vicario (q.v.). There may also be some influence from the idea of age or history, but this does not seem to be a major factor, as a considerable number of informants were less than certain to whom the word actually referred.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : family

Vehicle : nationality

cf. vicario, el.

VIOLENTO

Adjective indicating strength, toughness and joviality, and implying enthusiasm and admiration on the part of the speaker. Generally used of people or social events.

Derivs : none

DRAE : no related sense

A : no related sense

e.g. " - ¿Te cae bien el cuñado, oye?"

-- Muy chévere. Violento el tipo. Arma unos escándalos ..."

(An4)

"Presentamos su programa Sábado Violento, sobrado de lote,
pasado de calidad."

(M3)

Metaphor, based on similarity of attributes seen in the person or event described, and similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker.

Mainly lower class.

Tenor : appreciative expression

Vehicle : psychological characterisation

VISUACA, IA

(1) Penis

(2) Party at which a great deal of alcohol is consumed

Derivs : none

e.g. (1) "Él se cree la verraquera. No habla sino del tamaño de la visuaca que tiene. Pero con todo y eso no levanta mujeres."

(An5)

(2) "Estuvimos en una visuaca más bacana el sábado. ¡Qué pea! ¿oíste?"

(An4)

Neologism (?), the origin of which I have not been able to trace.

As with cañaña (q.v.), I would suggest that (1) is the primary sense and that (2) is a functional metaphor therefrom, based on similarity of attitude on the part of the speaker, i.e. value is attached both to the penis and to drink.

Foregrounding of the notion of drinking ability as an essential element of masculinity.

Lower class.

Tenor : (1) parts of the body

(2) alcohol

Vehicle : (1) ?

(2) parts of the body

cf. (1) cañaña, la (1); plátano, el; vergüenza, la.

(2) cañaña, la (2).

YUCA, LA

Food

Derivs : none

DRAE : no fig.

A : no related sense

S : no fig.

Su : no related sense

DF : "Alimentación, el pan de cada día."

e.g. "Y si me botan del trabajo, ¿yo de qué voy a vivir, oye?

¿De donde voy a sacar la yuca?" (I21)

Extension of meaning, from one particular (and particularly common) type of food to food in general (cf. English daily bread, bread and butter).

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : food

Vehicle : food

ZANAHORIO

Someone who is dull, old-fashioned or unwilling to join in the fun; spoilsport, square

Derivs : none

DRAE : no adj., no fig.

A : no adj., no related sense

Te : la zanahoria : "sonso."

e.g. "¡Qué fiesta tan jarta! Una gente más zanahoria ahí aplastados sin tomar ni bailar ni nada." (I6)

Metaphor (?), the basis of which is not clear, unless the carrot is considered a particularly boring vegetable, for which I have found no evidence. It has also been suggested ⁽¹⁾ that the basis of the expression may be not metaphor but assonantal association with sano. However, this explanation also seems to me a little far-fetched, particularly as I have not encountered sano used in a pejorative fashion. Generally used adjectivally as in the example.

Objectification of person.

Middle and lower classes.

Tenor : psychological characterisation/pejorative expression

Vehicle : food

(1) by informant (I21).

¡ZONA!

Interjection exhorting the listener to be alert

Derivs : none

DRAE : no interj., no fig.

A : no interj., no fig.

S : la zona : "Por antonomasia, en las poblaciones cubanas, la que corresponde a las casas de lenocinio y mujeres de mala vida." no interj.

e.g. "Y, ¡zona!, como te cogen sin papeles, terminas en la cárcel."

(An4)

Metaphor, through a somewhat complex process involving restriction of meaning, followed by metonymy, followed by functional metaphor. The sense of zona was restricted (by a process analogous to that involved in the sense given by Santamaría) to refer to the area where a crime was to be carried out. The name was then transferred by metonymy from the area to the member of the criminal gang set as look-out to guard the area. Finally, the interjection is based on similarity of activity - the listener is urged to be as wary as if s/he were acting as zona. (1)

A functional metaphor of activity.

Objectification of person.

Lower class.

Tenor : psychological characterisation

Vehicle : crime

Cant.

cf. imosca!

- (1) This information on the derivation of the expression was provided by informants (I21) and (I22). I do not have information as to whether it is still used by the underworld in the two intermediate senses mentioned.

APPENDIX : THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASS MEDIA

The extent of the influence of the mass media on language use is virtually impossible to measure or even to study in a systematic way. There are, however, several points worth considering.

1. Reading-matter

We have seen (cf. Chapter 9 above) that the lower class population of Barranquilla in the majority have little or no education with a consequently low general level of literacy. As a result their reading is in many cases confined to such things as comics and foto-novelas which use a very limited form of language and are frequently translated from English. This may be one channel for the introduction of English loan-words into the Spanish of people who speak no English, e.g. friquarse (q.v.), man (q.v.), parquearse (q.v.), and also encourages the use of some syntactic forms which are the result of direct, careless translation from English (examples such as esperar por, and está siendo perseguido, spring to mind).

2. Radio

Two specific programmes are of particular interest here. One is Sábado violento (Emisoras Unidas) which consciously aims to appeal to a lower class audience and is concerned primarily with discussion of parties and drinking bouts of one sort and another, making wide use of most of the corpus vocabulary related to alcohol. The other is La ley contra el hampa (Emisora Riomar) which tells the story of various criminals and their brushes with the police, making use of

a great deal of cant vocabulary. Just how influential these programmes are is difficult to say but it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they have some part in spreading the use of this vocabulary, particularly in that for many people the use of an expression on the radio lends it a validity which it may not previously have possessed.

West Indian music, particularly salsa is enormously popular in Barranquilla (cf. salsomanía (q.v.)) and some local radio stations (e.g. Radio Olímpica) are almost entirely devoted to it. It seems almost certain that this is the origin of certain of the corpus expressions e.g. combo (q.v.), pachanga (q.v.), sale el sol (q.v.) (1).

3. Television

The influence of television seems to be largely in the area of loans from English and from other varieties of Spanish. As in the case of comics, many North American television series and films are shown in Colombia with rather rough and ready translations, with similar results to those mentioned with regard to comics. Perhaps the most popular of all television programmes in Colombia are the tele-novelas (two or three are screened simultaneously, each with daily episodes), and these in the main are made in Mexico and Venezuela, which leads one to suppose that they may well introduce lexical usages typical of those areas, though there are no very obvious examples of this in the corpus. One particularly dramatic example of the influence of television

(1) The role of popular music in spreading lexical forms has, of course, often been referred to in connection with the role of the tango in popularizing lunfardo vocabulary, Cf. e.g. Guarnieri : 17-18.

during the period in which I was in Barranquilla concerned a Mexican comedy programme entitled El chapulín colorado. The leading character, of the same name, had a number of catch phrases which he would use at least once in every episode and often several times : ¡chanfle! (q.v.), ¡no contabas con mi astucia!, se aprovechan de mi hobleza, lo sospeché desde un principio, qué no pande el cúnico (sic), and todos mis movimientos están friamente calculados. The use of these caught the imagination of the Barranquilla public and within a very short time they were being used by both lower and middle classes. The first two in particular and most of all ¡chanfle! became a regular part of the slang vocabulary and were to be heard in a wide variety of situations. Unfortunately, I have no information as to whether they have withstood the test of time.

4. The Press

The press does not seem to have the same influence on usage as the other media, probably due to the fact that there is nothing which could really be called popular press in Barranquilla, and the two major newspapers, El Herald and Diario del Caribe, have a predominantly middle class readership. These however serve as an interesting reflection of the acceptance of certain slang vocabulary among the middle class, particularly in the cartoons where, of course, more linguistic licence is allowed than in the body of the paper. I here present three such cartoons. The first illustrates the use of man (q.v.) and bacano (q.v.), the second the constant use of animal metaphors, and the third the use of camello (q.v.) and tenaz (q.v.) (Mintrabajo = Ministerio de Trabajo, María Helena is María Helena del Crovo who had just resigned as minister).



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Diario del Caribe, 17/10/76



Diario del Caribe, 17/10/76

ADDENDA

Since completion of the thesis, the Breve Diccionario de Colombianismos of the Academia Colombiana, Comisión de Lexicografía, has become available. Entries relevant to the present corpus are as follows:

bola, parar o poner bolas (v. bolas, parar): fr. fig. y fam. Col.

Poner o conceder atención una persona a lo que otra le dice o le pide.

cachetero (v. cachete, ir de): adj. fam. Costa. Sinvergüenza, gorrón.

cañaña (v. cañaña, la): f. fam. Costa, Stder. Fuerza, energía, valor.

cocotazo (v. coco, el): m. Col. Golpe dado en la cabeza con el nudo del dedo cordial.

conejeear (v. conejo, el): tr. fig. y fam. Col. No pagar el valor de algún servicio, especialmente el de mujeres de la vida airada.

cuerudo (v. cuero, el): adj. Cund., Nar. Sinvergüenza, incorregible.

cují (v. cují): adj. fam. y vulg. Bog., Magd., NStder. Tacaño.

culipronta (v. culo, el): f. fam. Costa. Ramera.

chanfa (v. chamba, la): f. Col. Empleo, colocación.

chinchoso (v. chinche, el): adj. Costa, Cund., Nar., Stder.
Impertinente.

chiva (v. chivo, el): f. Col. Noticia novedosa.

descuerar (v. cuero, el): fig. y fam. Col. Murmurar, conversar en
perjuicio de una persona ausente, censurando sus
acciones.

enculebrado (v. culebra, la): adj. fam. Col. Endeudado.

jopo (v. jopo, el): m. vulg. Costa, NStder., Tol. Trasero, nalgas.

loca (v. loca, la): adj. vulg. Costa. Homosexual, sodomita.

lora, dar lora (v. lora, dar la): Col. diparatar, loquear, molestar,
fastidiar, importunar.

mamado (v. mamar): adj. fig. y fam. Col. Cansado, fatigado, rendido.
2. Nar. fam. embriagado. 3. Costa, vulg. Perjudicado,
engañado en un negocio.

mango (v. mango, el): m. vulg. Col. Corazón.

manteca (v. manteca, la): f. fam. Cund., Stder., Tol. Cocinera.

marranear (v. marrano, el): tr. fam. Costa, Cund. Estafar, engañar, embaucar.

pachanga (v. pachanga, la): f. fam. Col. Fiesta muy animada, con música, baile y licores.

papo (v. papaya, la): m. vulg. Costa. Vulva de la mujer.

pato, estar uno de pato (v. pato, el): Col. Estar de mirón o de asistente sin ser invitado, o sin pagar.

perico (v. perico, el): m. fam. Col. Leche con café, o café con leche servido en taza pequeña. Hay perico oscuro (más café que leche) y perico claro (más leche que café).

pericos (v. perico, el): m. pl. fam. Col. Huevos revueltos.

pesado (v. pesada, la): adj. fig. y fam. Col. Dícese del individuo rico, pudiente, influyente, poderoso.

piedra, sacar la piedra (v. piedra, sacar la): vulg. Col. Provocar el orgasmo en la mujer. fam. Costa, Cund., Stder. Fastidiar, hacerle perder a uno la paciencia, sacar de sus casillas a alguien.

pinta, andar pinta, estar pinta, echar pinta, ser pinta una persona (v. pinta, la): fig. y fam. Cund., Stder. Estar bien vestida, tener buena presencia, ser elegante una persona.

polvo (v. polvo, el): m. vulg. Col. Cópula carnal. echar un polvo:
fam. y vulg. Tener cópula carnal. 2. Valle. Semen.

rosca (v. rosca, la): f. Col. Camarilla.

sapo (v. sapo, el): adj. fam. Col. Delator.

serruchar (v. serrucho, el): Col. fig. y fam. Dividir entre dos o
varios individuos los proventos de una operación ilícita.

tirarse (v. tirar): 3. vulg. Col. Tener ayuntamiento carnal.

vaina (v. vaina, la): f. fam. Col. Molestia, contrariedad, fastidio,
accidente inesperado. 2. Cosa cuyo nombre no se recuerda
al momento.

Abbreviations

(Except where otherwise stated, all refer to departments of Colombia.)

Bog. - city of Bogotá	N.Stder. - Norte de Santander
Col. - the whole of Colombia	Stder. - Santander
Costa - north (Atlantic) coast of Colombia	Tol. - Tolima
	Valle - Valle del Cauca
Cund. - Cundinamarca	
Magd. - Magdalena	
Nar. - Nariño	

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